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'PROLETARIAN DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION' ADVOCATED

Beijing SIWU LUNTAN [5 APRIL FORUM] in Chinese No 12, 9 Sep 79 p 9-15

[Article by Shi Huasheng [4258 5478 3932]: "Leftist Line and Proletarian Democratic Revolution"]

[Text] What is this "proletarian democratic revolution?" Democratic revolution is bourgeois in nature. There has never been any "proletarian democratic revolution!" Before Comrade Chen Erjin's [7115 1422 2516] book was printed, we already had guessed that there would be people who would make this criticism. Sure enough, the author himself later heard such a reprimand from the country's highest scholastic unit (if not the "institute of orthodoxy").

Realistically speaking, when a new concept emerges, when it begins to negate an old concept and thereby reveals the meaning for its own existence, there are bound to be people who, not deigning to take a careful look, think that a mere citing of common knowledge suffices to refute it. This situation has been seen often enough. Needless to say, it is still a little too difficult for some of our beloved brethren to think beyond the realm of common knowledge.

As everybody knows, our China has never gone through a period of independent capitalist development. It was impossible for Old Democracy to destroy our country's feudal system, while the imperialist powers and the bureaucrat comprador monopoly capital took advantage of their economic superiority to exclude national capital and force it continually to face the miserable situation of bankruptcy or semibankruptcy. Hence, it was impossible for the Chinese to follow an independent path of capitalism. Many people today, facing the strong feudal character of contemporary bureaucratism, regret very much that our motherland was subjected to such severe historical constraints. It should be admitted that in the past this writer, too, was satisfied with feelings of regret about this matter and hence paid no attention to the other side of the story.

Some time ago, I happened to read an article by Comrade Yu Ren [0151 0088] (published in issue No 6 of this journal). He vaguely pointed out that "the transition from New Democracy to the socialist stage in our country has been very slow," but he could not but acknowledge at the same time that the completion of socialist transformation in just 7 years was "very fast." With

his conclusion that "we are still in the process of that transformation" I felt uncomfortable, but could not tell why.

From my recent review of the history of the Chinese Communist Party, I accidentally hit upon an idea. After pondering it for a while, I suddenly realized that it was not without reason that Comrade Yu Ren had to be vague and Comrade Chen Erjin was reprimanded!

I

"On Coalition Government" was a report made by Comrade Mao Zedong at the Seventh National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party [CCP]. The report pointed out: "It is a law of Marxism that socialism can be attained only via the stage of democracy. And in China the fight for democracy is a protracted one. It would be a sheer illusion to try to build a socialist society on the ruins of the colonial, semicolonial and semifeudal order without a united new-democratic state, without the development of the state sector of the new-democratic economy, of the private capitalist and the cooperative sectors, and of a national, scientific and mass culture, i.e., a new-democratic culture, and without the liberation and the development of the individuality of hundreds of millions of people -- in short, without a thoroughgoing bourgeois-democratic revolution of a new type led by the Communist Party." In the Soviet Union "the political, economic and cultural system of the newest type of democracy, i.e., socialism, has been put into effect," whereas in China "for a long time to come there will exist a special form of state and political power, a form that is distinguished from the Russian system but is perfectly necessary and reasonable for us, namely, the new-democratic form of state and political power based on the alliance of the democratic classes."

After the lapse of several years, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out again, at the Second Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee held in March 1949, that "The state-owned economy is socialist in character and the cooperative economy is semisocialist; these plus private capitalism, plus the individual economy, plus the state-capitalist economy in which the state and private capitalists work jointly, will be the chief sectors of the economy of the people's republic and will constitute the new-democratic economic structure."

These reports were all passed. That is to say, the CCP solemnly announced time and again then that it was going to establish a society with new-democratic economy, politics and culture. Marxism holds that production relations must adapt to the developmental level of productive forces. Under the conditions in China, the national bourgeoisie was incapable of independently developing China to capitalism, and the working class was to lead it to embark upon a noncapitalist new-democratic path. The CCP, at the time when victory was in sight, clearly saw this realistic path ahead.

It was a pity that before long it became dizzy with success because of that very victory.

Shortly after the founding of the state, in 1953, the CCP promulgated a general line for the transitional period. In their book "The Socialist Transformation of China's National Economy," Comrade Xue Muqiao [5641 2550 2890] and others wrote that this had "a very great impact on the bourgeoisie, shattering its dreams about the possibility of long-term coexistence of socialist and capitalist elements in the economy and about 'a long life for New Democracy.'" Indeed, the forms of society since New Democracy and since the slave society alike were hardly to enjoy a "long life," but "long-term co-existence" was really and truly an established policy of the Chinese Communist Party itself. The eventual decision to call clear foresight a "dream" and to fix "long-term" at 15 years, first of all, had an impact within the leadership circles of the CCP, itself. The principles of "assuring the establishment of a new-democratic social order" and of insisting upon a "transition from New Democracy to socialism" as proposed by Comrade Liu Shaoqi and others at the Seventh National Party Congress and the Second Plenary Session of the CCP Seventh Central Committee were entirely above reproach. But they were condemned as "rightist" by Comrade Mao Zedong. Comrade Mao Zedong, on the pretext that socialist factors were taking shape every day, relied upon a kind of relativist thinking method to oppose the establishment of a new-democratic social order, forcibly demanding that the revolutionary transformation be continued. Therefore, this was later developed by the "gang of four" into a new pretext, viz., that communist factors were taking shape every day, and hence the establishment of socialism, too, became "rightist." The reader may reflect a little here as to how the principle of "to each according to his work" was set aside, and the so-called "transition through poverty" was instead put into practice forcibly. In terms of ideological line, this turned out to be leftist. But this was something that happened only later, and it will be mentioned below. Here we already see that as soon as the period of rehabilitation of the national economy was completed, the life of the New-Democracy economy and politics was immediately shortened. This clearly reflected that the pace was to be further quickened.

Sure enough, along with the appearance in the latter half of 1955 of a high tide in nationwide agricultural cooperativization, another high tide, that of public-private joint management of all enterprises, immediately appeared in Beijing in January 1956. Public-private joint management was carried out in all capitalist enterprises, which account for a mere 6 percent of the total output value of all industrial enterprises, and also in all industrial enterprises that had a rudimentary form of state capitalism, which account for less than 20 percent of the same total output value, since 1954. Part of the property of these enterprises became state-owned. Management was actually in the hands of the state, whose principal task it was to complete state plans. Duties and functions of capitalist personnel became those of ordinary engineering, technical personnel and management personnel assigned by the state. Thus, the socialist transformation of industry and commerce was said to have been accomplished, and the capitalist enterprises were basically turned into socialist enterprises.

It should be acknowledged that this socialist transformation in our country was a rather stable process. Its impact on industrial and agricultural pro-

duction was minimal, and such production expanded somewhat. After the recovery of the national economy, industrial production during the period 1952-1957 showed an average yearly increase of 6 percent and agricultural production an average yearly increase of 4 percent, according to pertinent data. In agriculture, production dropped in 1954; after the development achieved in the basic-level cooperatives, production in 1955 made a big increase. With regard to this, every socialist can justly feel pleased. However, this process was at first estimated to require a long period of time to complete; it was later fixed at 15 years but in reality took only slightly more than 6 years (including the first 3 years of recovery) to bring the new-democratic economic system to a close, making it a very short period of transition. Generally speaking, destruction is easier than construction. In our country a war was fought for several tens of years, yet after that it took only a few years to complete its transition to socialism; this could not but make people wonder, indeed, and this was why there were so many "rightists."

While productive forces were hardly developed from the democratic relationship, such a relationship was said to have already become obsolete and people started to substitute for it the "socialist economic system." Thus, the Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party trotted out a famous formula: contradiction between the advanced social system and the backward productive forces. This formula actually said that it was necessary for the productive forces to adapt to the advanced production relations; theoretically, this was erroneous, and in a long period of practice it was proved to be erroneous. But over the short period, this error could not be revealed, or was even revealed to the contrary. Yet, what the formula itself reflected was an objective, undeniable fact: production relations were unadaptable to productive forces. More exactly, while the socialist system had already been established, socialist relationships proved not yet ripe; such relationships could only develop along with the development of the productive forces. Thus it turned out that this new system deviated in its content from its realistic economic relationship at the very beginning.

This excessively rapid transformation of the economic system led to the serious confrontation with the bourgeois rightists in 1957. The Communists, on their part, took victory [words illegible] already established. "Political [words illegible]" was denied. The new-democratic state, based on an alliance of the democratic classes, was no longer in existence. It was on such a basis that the ambitious Great Leap Forward was launched in 1958. The already accelerated pace of development was even more accelerated. Society [words illegible] able to accommodate chain reactions incessantly--change its economic and political system, the Great Leap Forward, and further change its economic and political system. Then [words illegible] started again in the countryside to turn all of it into people's communes; the communist society seemed just around the corner in a fixed number of days. However, the ephemeral existence of the new-democratic form of the state was of course incapable of immediately revealing any profound meaning, and the consecutive leaps were no longer things that the society could continue to bear. The state and the people sustained sufficient hardships in the economic realm.

In politics, because Comrade Mao Zedong suppressed Comrade Peng Dehuai's opposition, the "rightist opportunists" once again were defeated.

After the readjustment of the early 1960's, the national economy began to take a turn for the better. But, very shortly, the Great Cultural Revolution caused new instability. This time the economic relationship [words illegible] productive forces. Change usually follows some regular law. When ideology pulls ahead of reality, it becomes impossible for people to see the substantive function of the basic contradictions in society, thinking that there is already a basis for productive forces and that the form of a public ownership system remains only to be perfected [words illegible] task is merely [words illegible] contradictions [words illegible] make people spontaneously think of them and other [words illegible] and wish to give them a good whipping. Not only those "rightist" elements who hampered the practice of revolution by leaps should be eliminated and replaced with a new "[words illegible]."

In this way, the economy could only be led once more toward collapse. Even [words illegible] would be difficult. Our having a look at [words illegible] is bound to be beneficial. In 1957 the average wage of the country's employees and workers was (?637) yuan, which represented a 42 percent increase from that of 1952. With the factor of the slight increase in retail price eliminated, the actual wage increase was still more than 39 percent.¹ During the past more than 20 years, the average yearly increase in our industry was 13.5 percent.² But in 1978, the annual average wage for employees and workers under the all-people ownership system was 644 yuan, which represented an increase of 42 year compared with that of the preceding year. That is to say, the 1977 wage was only 602 yuan, which was below the 1957 level. But the 1978 wage exceeded that of 1957. Of course, the level of livelihood is [words illegible] an aspect. As for the change in prices and the change in the structure of the ranks of the workers during this period of more than 20 years, every reader can discern them for himself; the author will say no more here.

Up to this point, we can see very clearly that in the leading circles of our country--the inner core of the CCP--the Fourth leftist line started to take shape and develop from the very beginning of the founding of our state. It was opposed many times by comrades within the party with Comrade Peng Dehuai as their outstanding representative. But, with his authoritative political and theoretical power, Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly tried to change his minority into a majority, suppressed opinions different from his, and thus made it possible for this line to achieve a dominant position within the party and reach its peak during the period when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran rampant. This line deviated from the correct line and policies of the Seventh Party Congress and the Second Plenary Session of the CCP Seventh Central Committee. This prepatre transition from democracy to socialism played an important role in the process of the development of our society: the economic system developed in disregard of its proper content and economic relationships, and, in the form of a special social power (the state), controlled society and thereby created serious social, economic, political, theoretical and cultural crises.

The line, of course, could not determine everything. What appeared before us was a scene of extremely complicated factors interacting with one another.

II

In his speech to the Eighth National Congress of the CCP, Comrade Chen Yun pointed out: "An overwhelming majority of our national capitalists possess varying degrees of knowledge about the modern technology of production and business management. Their technical skills in production and their practical knowledge about business management are needed by us. The working class' own engineering, technical and management personnel with a high degree of cultural achievement are bound to develop from now on, and they have already started to develop. But, in the present circumstances, the national bourgeoisie, including its intellectuals, is a class with a relatively higher cultural standard in our country."

This was the state of the classes and their cultural level after the transition from democracy to socialism in our society. The capitalist class had a higher culture, but it was weak and soft and had lost its ownership. The working class as a whole was still incapable of managing its own social production and political and cultural affairs, and the peasants and other toilers even less so. Therefore, it was necessary for the state (or the party in the form of the state) to take their place in exercising those functions.

We know that the state is always "a power which is derived from society, yet transcends society and also deviates further and further away from society." The substantive difference between the state of the working class and all other kinds of states in the past is that the former is not a state in the original sense. To put it in Engels' words, "If society becomes consolidated, the traces of the [words illegible] commune type of state is bound to 'wither away.'" The state of the working class is a state which is in the process of withering away. Even if the date of its complete withering away cannot yet be talked about, lest it remain immune from the condition of its withering away after a period of consolidation--the avoidance of civil war and foreign invasion--it is basically still a form of the state of the past. The pity is that ever since Stalin made his well-known revision of Engels' theory of the withering away of the state, people have completely forgotten the meaning of the Marxist theory of the state (comrades of Yugoslavia are, of course, an exception).

But practice proves that the withering away of the state starts when it returns its economic functions to society and to the united body of the toilers. The premise for such a process is a definite level of culture achieved by the toilers themselves. Looking at the matter from the standpoint of the Seventh Party Congress and the Second Plenary Session of the CCP Seventh Central Committee, we can imagine that, under the political power of the new-democratic state, the new-democratic economic and political relationships in the liberated areas were to be expanded into the whole country, and then, during the period of independent development, the various advanced economic elements (including, of course, private capital) would be given a chance to

develop a certain competitive relationship. With this competitive relationship, the economy of the new-democratic state could achieve a certain flexibility and avoid a monopoly of power. The toilers, on their part, would thus seek to heighten their production skills and improve their management competence and prepare to substitute for the state their own voluntary united body--a higher organization of social labor, i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat--while the capitalists would also have a chance to demonstrate their capabilities to the maximum extent.

Here, the most important question in theory and in practice is the question of private capital. In New Democracy, private capital still exists and the state cannot yet wither away. It must continue to adjust the relationships between the various elements of the economy so as to facilitate social development. At the same time, the existence of private capital, from the standpoint of communists, could not but pose a threat. As revolutionaries, neither Marx nor Engels had the opportunity to control such a peculiar noncapitalist state. Yet, as theorists, they both pointed out the realistic possibility of the existence of a form of society which is led by communists but which harbors a latent internal hostile force. Lenin especially cried aloud in warning communists that they must learn how to do business and that it is necessary for them to learn from capitalists. He emphatically pointed out: "Private capitalism can very well become an assistant to socialism," this was "an incontestable fact of economics." Only with great patience and a high level of art can the communists achieve success in this regard. And Comrade Mao Zedong, too, originally considered this to be the case. He provided a special explanation on this question at the Seventh Party Congress: "Under the state system of New Democracy in China it will be necessary in the interest of social progress to facilitate the development of the private capitalist sector of the economy (provided it does not dominate the livelihood of the people) besides the development of the state sector and of the individual and cooperative sectors run by the laboring people. We communists will not let empty talk or deceitful tricks befuddle us."

Yet, with a little development after the recovery of the economy, a change was immediately made in the actual process of transition, thereby completely interrupting the process anticipated by the earlier clear thinking.

In reality, it was still the fear of private capitalist development which prompted the measure to deprive the capitalists of their ownership in a hurry. In this way, the class with a higher culture was, of course, weakened and eventually became incapable of threatening the power of the state. But a more serious crisis was, as a result, covered up. After the October Revolution, Lenin warned the working class that in history there have been cases of barbaric people conquering more civilized people but, in time, the former were conquered by the culture of the latter. On the basis of this idea of Lenin's, Bukharin profoundly pointed to the basic danger which heretofore had confronted all socialist regimes:

"The working class may be able to make its enemy succumb mechanically... It may take possession of things materially in existence. But at the same time

it may be swallowed up by the cultural power of the enemy.... Such a danger is bound to threaten the entire working class that seizes political power. If this happens, we shall become a new class composed of new technical intellectuals and part of the new bourgeoisie...because we will then be deviating, inadvertently but completely, from the base of the proletariat and become a new social stratum." ("The Proletarian Revolution and Culture")

The thinking method of this kind of discourse is dialectical, because it by no means describes the conquest of the working class by the bourgeoisie mechanically as a superficially dreadful picture of the propertied people or some other remnant force seizing political power. When the propertied people still enjoy a certain degree of ownership, the political power of the new-democratic state cannot but stand on the side of the laborers and direct the development of capitalism. On the contrary, after the socialist state achieved monopoly over the lifeblood of society's economy, the danger pointed out by Bukharin not only existed in a latent form but the state even strictly forbade people to expose it. The analysis of the emergence and existence of a new class thus developed into the most fundamental "antisocialist" forbidden zone. People like China's Li Yizhe of Guangdong, Xu Shuiliang of Nanjing, Chen Erjin of Yunnan, and Yugoslavia's Djilus, East Germany's (Baluo) all suffered imprisonment because of this. It is not difficult to imagine the countless number of persons of ideals and integrity who, for having exposed a danger, became the first to suffer hardship.

Marxism holds that, in order to attain socialism, it is impossible not to go through democracy first. The nearly 30 years of our country's development have proved that this principle is correct: laborers who had been trained in democracy all found themselves in a weak position; there was no point from which to speak of socialism. Workers hate bureaucratism. In their actual life they feel that their interests and those of bureaucratism stand in opposition.

Twenty-five years after the founding of our state, the workers' right to strike was finally recognized. But the form in which the workers have resisted bureaucratism has been mostly work slowdowns and not strikes. Up to the present time, striking is one of the most powerful forms of working class struggle in our country. Generally speaking, only under the leadership of a trade union can a strike be effectively organized. Therefore, when a trade union is completely at the beck and call of the state, it is rarely possible for workers to strike. The work slowdowns to which they are forced to resort is the most positive action they can take under such trying conditions.

The Great Cultural Revolution was a reflection of the sharpening of a complex of entangling social contradictions in our society, with the contradiction between the working class and other workers on the one hand and the bureaucratic force on the other hand as the principal contradiction. What was of decisive significance during the entire incident was that the workers became bogged down in a humiliating situation of factional confrontation among themselves and could not find a way out. They never really had any insoluble

internal conflict of interest, although they also did not have any internally consistent class consciousness peculiar to a mature socialist working class. This class, as yet untrained in democracy, thus became under new social conditions once again a class "in itself." They drifted upward and downward amid a violent current. Their weak position in their relationships with the means of production and in economics and politics made it impossible for them to control the situation. On the contrary, the movement time again left in them the humiliating signs that they had been deceived and tricked.

Naturally, the peasants were in an even more disadvantageous position than the workers. The incident in which a melon crop was destroyed in Hebei Province, reported not long ago in the press, showed that the peasants' ability to protect their own interests and to assert their independence is now no longer insignificant. The rampant arbitrariness of the bureaucrats had indeed reached an intolerable degree.

Correspondingly, as the social classes all found themselves in a relatively weak position in their respective ways, the state, which could neither be done away with nor wither away of its own accord, became the most powerful controlling force. Contrary to the state of the past, the ruling party actually occupied a ruling position in the new state. In reality, the party took the place of the state, and because it was far more possible for the party not to set any legal limits to itself--the state itself usually does not do so--the party gained even greater freedom of action. This was fully demonstrated during the Great Cultural Revolution in our country. Kardelj, the deceased theorist of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, once wrote: Even though state ownership is inevitable when "the expropriators themselves must be expropriated," "from the historical point of view, as a type of relationship among the people themselves state ownership is still connected with the hired-labor relationship which combines labor power with the means of production; there is an umbilical cord which runs through the realm of ownerships in the various forms of the social economy." This dictum has also been proved true in various parts of the world.

Bureaucratism has become a deadly threat to socialism in all localities. The national bourgeoisie has gradually disappeared. The state has emerged between the means of production and the workers. The administrative personnel and management personnel of the state are a very special professional clique. They often stand before the workers in the name of the party. Indeed, this is a special stratum. Under the conditions of economic inevitability, a bureaucratic tendency has appeared in the midst of this stratum. Bureaucratic groups, large and small, have been organized. Because of a lack of democratic development, our bureaucratic forces here have taken on a very strong feudal character. But this has not prevented it from becoming bureaucratism with an economic base of its own. The masses of people plunged into the Great Cultural Revolution with great enthusiasm, and their wrath toward bureaucratism exploded like a volcano. As a result, under the guidance of a leftist line the "leftists" replaced the "rightists," the new, stupid bureaucrats replaced the old bureaucrats.

The problem is that the leftist line reflected a confrontation between "that force which is derived from but transcends society and at the same time deviates further and further from society" and society itself. It was often assumed to be promoting revolution, but it was really merely creating revolution and becoming the ideology of a state that had not yet withered away. In the final analysis, on the strength of the state ownership relationship the leftist line lasted nearly 30 years from its initial formation to its complete rule. The people and society paid a heavy price for this, and the party and the state themselves were damaged by this.

The Bolshevik Party under the personal leadership of Lenin also committed a similar error. As everyone knows, wartime communism "decided to pass directly to communist production and distribution" and thereby created an economic crisis. Lenin acknowledged that this approach "is contrary to what we have said in the past about how the transition was going to take place from capitalism to socialism. At that time, we thought that, without passing through a statistical and supervisory period of practising socialism, it would be impossible even to embark upon the lower stage of communism." It was Lenin himself who led his party to deviate from his own theory. As Lenin pointed out, "unfortunately, this happens to be a fact." The great Lenin, however, did not insist on his mistake; he resolutely decided on a "retreat," namely, to carry out his "New Economic Policy."

Lenin and the Bolshevik Party rectified the error within a short period of time but they proved unable to deeply recognize its cause. By the 1970's, French scholar Charles (Beitelan) pointed out that it would be inappropriate to use "retreat" to compare the action to rectify the error this time. "To say that people have 'retreated' to their present base really means that people have not actually retreated but have instead merely departed from nonexistent 'socialist relationship' as an imaginary base to stand now on the base of a realistic relationship." Therefore, (Beitelan) held that wartime communism "has already suffered a defeat in the most profound sense of the word, not because it created certain 'economic difficulties,' and not because the people did not yet possess sufficient power, but because it was unable to transform the economic relationships as people used to believe it could"; "and where it erred was precisely in that the compulsory measures of the state were thought to be capable of replacing mass action, and in the struggle for a basic transformation of the production relationship they were thought to be able to replace ideological revolution."

Thus we can see that what happened in a situation in which the seizure of power was immediately mistaken to be the possibility for a mere exercise of administrative power to transform the economic relationships and political relationships of society according to one's own will, was not limited to our country alone. Production was being socialized, and this demanded that production relations and their upper structure also be socialized. This fact was not very easy for the state to accept. This was so especially if the state felt that it was still facing a serious threat from the old classes and the old remnants. Today, people use the image of "capitalist democracy" to scare themselves and at the same time scare others without reason. Whenever there is any social disturbance anywhere, they immediately create a terrible scenario in their heads so as to use it as a basis for administrative action.

This is precisely a reflection of the idea of the old state which transcends society and at the same time deviates further and further from society and therefore is rather infirm itself.

III

Therefore, there is an important meaning for Comrade Chen Erjin to propose the concept of a "proletarian democratic revolution."

In Comrade Mao Zedong's words, socialism is "the newest type of democracy." The reason this form of society is capable of resolving its own contradictions lies precisely in that it seeks to reach the higher stage by negating its own form of existence with forms of a fundamental nature. The contradiction between the workers and the bureaucratic forces and privileged cliques is the principal contradiction in our society; it is also the basic question facing such reforms. Proletarian democratic revolution is the only way to resolve this contradiction and solve this problem.

Under the guidance of the leftist line, our revolution fell victim to the saying that "haste makes waste"; it has traversed a rather tortuous road. Today, unless we pass through democracy our society cannot develop. In the meantime, the bourgeoisie no longer exists. The nature of democracy cannot but be proletarian and socialist. It must reform the economic relationships and system which cannot adapt to the development of modern productive forces; it must reform the upper structure hostile to the new economic relationship and to democracy; and it must weaken or even eliminate bureaucratic forces and privileged cliques so as to establish a democratic economic system with the workers' primary free united body as its core, and so as to carry out a democratic political system that practices popular election of representatives, freedom of expression, etc.

No matter how formidable the strength of common knowledge might be, people have, after all, begun to recognize some of the characteristics of the democratic revolution that is now in progress.

FOOTNOTES

1. Xue Muqiao, "The Socialist Transformation of China's National Economy," p 53.
2. See RENMIN RIBAO, 13 May 1979, p 3.

9255
CSO: 4005

BEIJING UNOFFICIAL JOURNAL ARTICLE HAILS DEMOCRACY MOVEMENT

HK131500 Beijing SIWU LUNTAN [5 APRIL FORUM] in Chinese No 14, 11 Nov 79
pp 1-3 HK

[Article by Shi Hua Sheng [4258 2901 3932]: "Look Closely at Ourselves and the Surrounding Environment--Marking the First Anniversary of Democracy Wall"]

[Text] There are two short walls in the streets of Xi Dan in our capital Beijing. The people's democracy movement that was launched here is about to greet its first anniversary.

In this issue, this journal has collected some representative documents which appeared on Democracy Wall at the beginning of the movement. People may see from them and find out what were the issues which initially stimulated people's enthusiasm and hope so that they can "mount high and have a better view."

At this time, we feel that we should be even more realistic than the past.

We must admit that there still are not many people who sympathize with the movement, and even less who personally step out and assist it. What are the reasons for this kind of phenomenon? We hold that it can be accounted for in the following two ways:

First, because of the restrictions by internal and external conditions, all the activists in the movement still cannot integrate themselves with the laboring masses. We have indeed scored some achievements. In particular, while continuously publishing short and incisive political commentaries, we have attracted a number of great works of tens or even hundreds of thousands of characters. Talented people who were stifled in the past have gradually manifested themselves; at the same time, our political activities have also been able to win the masses' definite support and relatively extensive sympathy. However, the outstanding features during the initial period of attaching importance to written propaganda and publications have also restricted our scope of activities. Many of our comrades often have not been able to subjectively or objectively break away from this narrow scope.

They have even been satisfied with their "great theories" and have rested content with meeting the needs of some of the most active and progressive masses. They have paid very little attention to the collection of materials, analyses and study regarding the actual society and especially the living conditions (both material and spiritual) of workers and peasants. Many comrades have rashly expressed their lack of interest in Marxism. However, there is almost nobody who could act like the 25-year-old Engels who "spent nearly all his leisure time associating with ordinary workers" and took "the true foundation and point of departure of all contemporary social movements," that is, the situation of the working class, as an important aspect of his study. He made analyses and explanations with accurate materials and not out of his own feelings. Indeed, to put it bluntly, Engels had far better conditions than any of our researchers--he could conduct on-the-spot investigations, write freely and publish his "Condition of the Working Class in England." However, have our comrades done all they can possibly achieve? We should say: Not yet.

Secondly, but no less significant than the previous point, the living conditions of the masses of China have still been unable to provide a solid foundation for the democracy movement. The tortuous economic development, the serious adverse effect of the proportionate imbalance in the national economy as well as the rising commodity prices under the economic pressure have more or less driven our people, our elders, brothers and sisters to directly face a number of difficult and troublesome problems of food, clothing, shelter, transportation, employment and education. For instance, cooking is currently a most common handicraft business in China. It is also one of the basic features of our way of life. To change this way of life, we are subject to both the limitations of our production standards and our present levels of remuneration for labor. This is but one of the numerous problems. When all the pressures are put together, they are enough to fetter most of our people in the scope of their daily lives. In living according to a kind of social division of labor which is to them an alien force, they can hence neither have an even better understanding of things other than those which are directly related to their material lives, nor take up their individual obligations and responsibilities toward the society. For instance, laborers are instinctively uninterested in the workers' self-management in Yugoslavia. However, genuine self-management, when practiced, requires even more painstaking efforts and time from the laborers. In addition, they will also inevitably encounter failures and setbacks. These will surely be great pressures and obstacles to quite a large number of comrades. Therefore, people for the moment still cannot devote themselves wholeheartedly to struggling for democracy--the concept of which has even not been very clearly explained.

[HK131510] In this circumstance, the people's democracy movement not only has to face up to the bureaucratic force which is ready at any moment to destroy it, but also has to work hard to overcome its own shortcomings. It must also even have more contacts with the laboring masses and make itself accepted by them--one should know how great the difficulty is just

by undertaking some firsthand experience. In the past year, people have persistently maintained the movement; groups freely associated in the form of editorial boards of people's journals have survived. Nevertheless, they are still very weak. They are often forced into struggles for their very existence. They have therefore become extremely sensitive, and any infringement on the citizens' rights will arouse their strong reaction. When they also produce reactions to those things which are relatively remote from the ordinary lives of the masses, people feel surprised and puzzled. They would probably think that they are just making a fuss and are making troubles out of nothing. Yes. After having experienced protracted and repeated struggles and movements, our society has relaxed its nerves and its senses have become numb. It has at least appeared on the surface to be even more worldly wise and tolerant. At the same time, those active people have often committed mistakes here or there in their actions. They lack experience and knowledge and have sometimes done stupid things. The masses are still very far from being satisfied with the current situation of the movement. People who consider themselves always in the right have on the other hand thought that it has gone too far, while the bureaucrats have instinctively maintained their enmity toward it.

Following the logic of matters themselves, we have now turned our eyes toward the ruling party, that is, the Communist Party and the government--toward an important aspect in our real life.

As we know, Marx held while he was young that freedom of the press is not to be listed side by side with all the other kinds of freedom (trade, property and belief). Being a "universal freedom of the human instinct," it has its own special significance. Forming free associations and carrying out organized activities constitute the basic form of action of all communists. However, experiences in the past year have told us that today's Communist Party members no longer hold the same basic view. The issue regarding the form of organization of the Communist Party does not fall into our scope of exploration here. What we are now concerned with is the attitude of the party and government toward the people's democracy movement.

It is common knowledge that Communist Party members have taken Marxist theories as their guidance. Now then, let us first look at the thoughts of Engels. In May 1886, the workers movement sprang up in the United States, with the group formed by the socialists among the German immigrants becoming "the third party" of the movement. Filled with great enthusiasm, Engels looked attentively at the national organization of the workers of the United States--"Labor Cavaliers." He held that it was a very significant factor in the movement. People should not sneer at it from the outside but should revolutionize it from the inside. Engels criticized those German socialists. He held that they had "committed a serious mistake. When they encountered a strong and remarkable movement which was not created by themselves, they attempted to turn their kind of imported and often not clearly understood theory into the only kind of dogma that could save the world. In addition, they also kept a remote distance from any movement

which did not accept this kind of dogma." Engels pointed out that people should take Marx's practice as their examples. "When Marx founded the International, the general regulations he drafted allowed all socialists of the working class at the time--followers of Proudhon and (Pierre Lalo) (BiAiEr LeLu 3024 1002 3643 0519 7627)--and also the relatively progressive elements of the British Trades Union Congress to join the International." Engels asked: "If we had insisted that we would only cooperate with those people who openly acknowledge our program during the period from 1864 to 1873, what would our present situation be?" (All the above are found in "Selected Works of Marx and Engels" Volume IV, pp 458-461)

[HK131505] We should point out that our present officials do not have much in-depth study about the developing Marxism. The mistakes in their attitude toward the people's democracy movement have far exceeded those of the German socialists in the United States in the past. What is different, however, is that the strength of the people's democracy movement is far from equal to the "labor cavaliers," whereas the movement's understanding of Marxism has often been beyond compare with that of the official quarters. Judging from the general theoretical standard of the movement, we can see that the movement's profound understanding of the Marxist theories on mass movements, of the significance, practice and overall system of the citizens' economic and political rights, of the fundamental principle of practice being the sole criterion for testing truth and especially of the contradictory situations between our current social production relations and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic foundation, its profound and unanimous views that Lin Biao and the gang of four were products of the current social, economic and political system as well as its great vitality have attracted an extensive mass of readers. True, the movement has been carried out for only 1 year since it was first launched, and people holding different kinds of views can still only practice preliminary cooperations for the sake of the continued existence of the movement itself. That is to say, basically they still cannot launch any internal criticisms. There are also very few confrontations between views which are directly perceived through the senses. People cannot help thinking of the words of G. E. Lessing:

"For those who take as their opponents people who have relatively less knowledge and lower pondering ability than themselves and can therefore only listen to what they say without being able to make any refutations, they have unknowingly lost their chance for introspection. Their ability to strictly criticize what they themselves have said is also thus frittered away."

Our government has kept the democracy movement at a certain distance. It has adopted a kind of basically indifferent attitude with some sort of enmity. Frankly speaking, this is very harmful to the democracy movement, to the government itself and to national development. We hold that if the Communist Party and government still genuinely regard Engels and others as their teachers, and if they really believe in the "four basic principles" which they advocate, then they should change their attitude.

The movement in front of Democracy Wall has gone through its first year.

The strength of the movement lies in telling the truth and in treating everything critically.

While celebrating our first anniversary, we vow to do the same.

CSO: 4005

FICTION WRITER ENVISIONS FUTURE DANGERS IN POLITICAL SYSTEM

Beijing BEIJING ZHICHUN [BEIJING SPRING] in Chinese No 8, 28 Sep 79 pp 32-41

[Fiction by Su Ming [5685 2494]: "Possible Tragedy in the Year 2,000"]

[Text] This book deals with another change brought about by some people in China in the year 2,000. The "gang of four" are rehabilitated...A dangerous situation is envisioned in a bold hypothesis. This is not unlikely in light of what has happened with every change in the past and the defects of our system. The work also tells about the experiences and viewpoints of a big-character poster writer in the envisioned confusion of tomorrow. These viewpoints are widely held among ordinary Chinese today.

One day toward the end of 1998, the normal program of the Central Broadcasting Station is interrupted by a veteran announcer who in his familiar but especially poignant voice that day announces a piece of anxiously awaited news.

A certain comrade, a leader of the Chinese Communist party and state who was loved by the country's 1.5 billion people and respected by people throughout the world has succumbed to illness in Beijing at 0215 today!

Compared to similar obituary notices since China entered the 1990's, this has come as the biggest shock.

The whole world is in mourning. People live on his achievements; he will live in people's hearts for ever.

The Tiananmen becomes a sea of humanity. Some people propose that a memorial hall be built....

The Xidan Democracy Wall is girded by a black silk ribbon hundreds of meters long.

The United States, Yugoslavia, Japan, France, Germany...all express their condolences in special ways. The special envoy of the U.S. President brings a wreath made of flowers from 50 different states.

More obituary notices follow in the succeeding year. Several leaders die of illnesses. Careful observers notice a lack of the usual information about the causes of death. Several leaders have been victims of car accidents. Two high-level responsible cadres have been air crash victims, with the body of one never found.

There are few remaining leaders of the older generation. The surviving ones are also retiring one by one.

A report filed by UPI from Beijing says: Someone has put up a big-character poster on the Xidan Democracy Wall entitled, "Why?" Despite the snowing, the masses hold a rally and demand that the authorities explain the causes of so many leaders' death and to clarify certain hearsay. After the rally, an unorganized parade passes by the Central Office in the newly built 30-story building.

RENMIN RIBAO and RED FLAG, usually slow in reacting, are unusually quick this time. An article by a Contributing Commentator entitled "Not To Be Overlooked" is carried.

REFERENCE NEWS carries the dispatches of the foreign press speculating that the CCP may convene the highest level conference.

On 1 December 1999, all leading newspapers throughout the country carry a short communique on their front pages--the communique of the Fifth Plenum of the 17th CCP Central Committee. Its main object is to call on the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline to form a special investigation organ together with the Supreme People's Procuratorate, the Supreme People's Court and the Public Security Department. The investigation organization, under the control of a vice chairman, is to investigate a major incident involving the death of several leaders of the Party Central Committee.

On 5 December, initial findings about "a counterrevolutionary group conspiring to split the motherland" are announced. The leading members of several important departments of the state are involved.

On 7 December, more information about the case is made known: nine leading provincial leaders are involved.

On 9 December, there is a breakthrough in the case. The main head of the group is a certain leader of the Party Central Committee who has a significant international background.

It is held abroad that the so-called "international background" undoubtedly refers to the United States. The NEW YORK TIMES carries an article by Columnist Dick, entitled "With the Disappearance of a Great Figure, China Has Again Sunk Into the Depths of Mystery!"

On 11 December, the Party Central Committee Plenum announces a reorganization of the Political Bureau and the Party Central Committee. All persons involved in the case must be temporarily suspended, and some new members are admitted. It is claimed that such steps are not without precedent and are to be approved at the next party congress.

On 15 December, it is revealed that members of the "group plotting a rebellion" have been found in the judicial departments and even among the several leading officials in charge of this case. The Party Central Committee decides to reorganize the joint investigation organ. One of the responsible persons of the organ is placed under arrest.

Since this case involves top state secrets, there will be no public trials. However, as stipulated by law, several trials are held. The defendants make no denials. Some of them appear surprisingly dull. The appointed defense lawyers are there only for show. A responsible person of the former Supreme Court makes a remarkable statement in the dock: Law only serves as toilet paper in political struggles. So he is charged with insulting the law and the sentence on him in the final verdict will be heavier.

On 20 December, criminal evidence against a "counterrevolutionary group conspiring to split the motherland" is announced in an overall and systematic manner. Most exasperating is that this group opposes that certain leading comrade long held in respect who died last year, and uses most noxious languages to attack Chairman Mao, founder of the state and the Great Cultural Revolution.

Newspapers and magazines and broadcasting stations release a series of articles expressing determination to rally around the new Party Central Committee and smash all reactionary forces. Party and government organizations at all levels also call various denunciatory meetings.

The 26th of December being the 106th anniversary of Chairman Mao's birthday, propaganda activities reach the highest pitch. The banner headline of RENMIN RIBAO reads: The Great Tutor Chairman Mao Is Forever the Reddest, Reddest Sun That Never Sets in the Hearts of the Peoples of the World!

The year 2,000 AD finally arrived. This year was already in the people's mind 20 years ago. All the countries over the world celebrate this year, and China's celebration is particularly impressive. However, the first task now is to conclude the movement of liquidating the social foundation of the "conspiratory group" at the grassroot levels, while in the various spheres of the superstructure and the important task of restructuring the economic front, a highly centralized system is enforced, whereby all authorities that have been handed down to various localities and enterprises are to return to the central authorities in order to eliminate the possibility of any further splitting.

The movement of checking and reforming progresses smoothly. In September, the CCP held its 18th National Congress.

After a long preparation of public opinion, the Central Plenum criticized the erroneous line carried out in the previous 20 years; that certain leaders who has won the confidence of the broad masses through deception; and the bourgeois command in the party headed by him.

That year, in the new funeral home located in a building of three levels above and five levels below the ground surface, hundreds of memorial meetings for rehabilitated persons or ceremonies in laying down the ashes are held.

On 1 October, the 51st anniversary of the founding of the PRC is solemnly celebrated. Members of the new central leading body ascend the Tiananmen rostrum to review a 5-million strong parade. The key leaders made important speeches:

Resolutely and completely destroy the bourgeoisie inside the party; guard against a repetition of the tragedy of 22 years ago;

Carry the current reform movement through to the end and achieve centralized leadership;

Thoroughly get rid of the influence of decadent Western capitalism in all ideological areas; the proletariat must occupy all fronts;

Freeze wages, stress people's ideological revolution, restrict and disrupt bourgeois rights, and solve the problem of the wide gap between the rich and the poor;

Get rid of foreign capital, strictly control foreign relations and follow a revolutionary diplomatic line of selfreliance;

Strengthen public security organs, promote dictatorship by the public and exercise overall dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in all areas.

Parades then begin.

The most advanced shuttle-type strategic guided missiles of the world, produced by China, the Model III Thunderbolt, for the first time appear before the cameras of foreign correspondents;

"Bomber-20" among the advanced strategic bombers produced by China, and Fighters "Destroyer-18" in formations are roaring in the sky;

Weapons of the "Dumpling" series, a mystery to the world, pass by, covered by a large cauldron shaped metal vault, and the excitement they create almost diverts world attention from China's political situation;

The imported "Model III Panther" tanks then drive across the square;

The mechanized infantry passes through the square;

The mighty militia....

Young people cheer and jump for joy, taking pride in the weighty mission with which this generation is charged by history.

Those people over 45 once again feel puzzled by the changes in the domestic situation in 1 year

On 2 October, a big-character poster appears on Xidan's Democracy Wall bustling with fluttering bunting. It is "a big-character poster put up here over 22 years ago" signed by Yu Ji.

It causes a big commotion.

The big character poster begins:

"The same big-character poster was put up here 22 years ago, but did not attract much attention. The writer was almost classified as the 'small number of bad people.' Now, 22 years later, what was predicted by the writer unfortunately has come true. A copy of that poster is now displayed here. If we compare the past with the present, it may be helpful to us in looking forward to the next 20 years."

The text of the big-character poster reads as follows:

"Last month (November 1978), the Japanese friends raised an unanswered question to the relevant quarters in China. Vice Premier Deng's speech (on relations with Japan) was very good. But is there likely to be a change next year? The political situation in China changes all the time. A newly made law is likely to be scrapped a year later.

"China is a big country with a vast population: Progress in economic development and in improving the people's lives has been slow. But the political situation has been changing so fast that any modernized country would be bewildered.

"Such a phenomenon is common knowledge. Only our propaganda and orthodox ideas have played dumb.

"Why?"

"This is because in a country practicing a high degree of centralism, a state's safety depends on a single person, and the destiny of 900 million people is held in the hands of a few. Control over political, economic, legal and other matters is monopolized by centralized leadership. As a result, the eating, thinking, toilet, and sleeping habits of 900

million people, their emotions, such as joy, anger, sorrow and delight, and their every act and every hope are influenced by the physiological changes in these few people, their habits and preferences, their mental state and their ideological leanings. Thus, everything changes when an individual is removed from the scene, and the laws of a generation change with an individual's death.

"Every time these several hundred persons, these several tens of persons, or these few persons are fighting hard above, 900 million people watch with bated breath below. If a good man wins, this is cause for national jubilation. He is a symbol of hope. But the destiny of 900 million people is so uncertain. If this man has so much as a cold, the whole nation trembles with fear. If something should happen, all would grieve. They do not know what their future will be and who will hold their destiny.

"Why should we, who are born Chinese, have such a fate? We are human beings. We are in the 1970's of the 20th century.

"Comrade Deng Xiaoping suggests...."

Here the last part of the big-character poster has been torn down. Two hours have passed since the appearance of the poster. Half an hour later, only the headline remains.

Correspondent Antony of the TORONTO GLOBE AND MAIL who has photographed the whole text of the big-character poster sends an immediate telegraph to his headquarters. Six hours later he is declared persona non grata and expelled. Several hundred persons who have read the big-character poster spread the news.

On 3 October, the customs officer seizes all the copies of that day's TORONTO GLOBE AND MAIL. The Canadian Ministry of Foreign Affairs summons the Chinese ambassador to protest China's breach of the cultural exchange agreement.

Various other foreign language newspapers which carry different parts of the big-character poster are withdrawn from newsstands. Before 0900, all foreign language newspapers are sold out.

On 4 October, BELLBOTTOM, the journal of the Opera and Music Institute, carries a consolidated report on foreign dispatches concerning the big-character poster. It mentions the incident of the TORONTO GLOBE AND MAIL, and reprints some of the important news items carried by that newspaper on 3 October. The TORONTO GLOBE AND MAIL in the possession of the Editorial Department of the school journal is obtained from an overseas Chinese family just arrived. The Ministry of Culture takes a very serious view of this matter, which finally ended when several famous personages threatened to resign.

In the evening, a huge crowd gather before the Democracy Wall. Those who come early can see the remaining headline. A little later, everything is gone. Some persons write out an outline of the contents from memory. When they try to put it up on the wall, some dispute arises resulting in a fist fight. By midnight, some people leave the scene, but workers who have gone off the night shift come in crowds. People come and go continually until dawn on the 5th and create a lot of noise.

At around 1700 on 5 October, the writer of the big-character poster appears in public. He is about 50 years old, well dressed and with a Chinese physiogamy and good poise. He speaks plainly about what all want to talk about but do not know how to talk about without getting into trouble. Yet his speech is as attractive as his fine personality. Standing on two bricks, he begins to lecture on his big-character poster. In less than 10 minutes, he has drawn an audience of several thousand people. The traffic lane under the Xidan overhead expressway is blocked by the milling crowd.

Someone sets up a cry but is immediately shouted down by everyone. Because of the great multitude of people, plain clothes policemen can do nothing. Someone passes an amplifier to the speaker who takes it and continues to speak.

At this time, in a room several miles away, a small radio receiver is working. Several important figures seated on comfortable Swedish sofas are listening.

"...Comrade Deng Xiaoping advocates relegating economic power to the lower levels and improving the legal system, so that more people can participate in management and come near to their goal of wielding power. This is a step forward.

"But it should be noted that these reform measures can be as easily abandoned as they are advocated. At a certain time, they may be repudiated in the same fashion as they are imposed. Since the one in that position has the power to dictate them, he certainly has the right to abolish them. The one who decides to do this or that may be the same person or a totally different person.

"The power of the person in such a position is overwhelming, unmatched and unrestricted. Perhaps, inside the core of power, there are contradictions and differences, or groups with dissident views. The struggles among them may be very fierce, probably to the extent that only a coup d'etat can provide the solution. However, this cannot alter the nature and form of this power. On the contrary, it can only strengthen it.

"Some people have correctly pointed out the merits of this type of power: The policy maker can easily make his decision without encountering any

interference or resistance. Since nobody can hinder his action, this person will occupy a historical position high above others. However, it should also be noted that this is also a defect, because just in case he turns away from the proper way, he will speed along with irresistible force and the people are those to come to grief. Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' are the best examples.

"All people eventually die. Revolutionaries of the older generation, who have guided our advance, will pass away one after another. Will these purely physiological changes be allowed to jeopardize our great cause which has just begun? It is not impossible that a historical reform will be spoiled by a struggle for power. We must be aware of what has happened before. This is what 'lingering fear' means...."

It has become dark, and the camera flashguns go into action. Many people come down from two trucks and chaos begins. Policemen also appear out of nowhere calling on people to make way.

The writer continues his talk.

"What to Do? The proletarian tutor has not..."

Suddenly, a stone hits the speaker's face and blood streams down the corner of his mouth. This is followed by the cracking of rotten eggs on the scalps of the bystanders. There is an uproar. Several husky men try to squeeze forward, but are forced away by the mob.

On 6 December. This big-character poster appears in leaflet form in the Sandijing Supermarket, the Xidan Supermarket and the Tiananmen Square. Also from the 30-story building near the Beijing Railway Station, leaflets continue to fly down for fully 10 minutes. All people stop work and keep their eyes on the leaflets. Policemen also fix their cold gaze at the ominous white sheets, most of which disappear before hitting the ground.

Today, the court hears an appeal. A young female professor, engaged in high energy research, files a complaint against a public security man of the 13th District for violating human rights. Before the Democracy Wall, the public security man has stopped the female professor, saying that she was carrying leaflets and insisting on searching her below her waist, since that part of the body is always the most suspicious part. He received a slap on the face and was later fined 50 yuan by the judge in addition to 10 days imprisonment, according to law. As soon as the female professor steps out of door, a phone call comes from the higher authorities to free the public security man. Before the female professor has walked 100 meters, someone pushes into her hand a leaflet. The next day, MINGFANG [AIRING OF VIEWS], a journal published by the female professor's research institute, for the first time carries an article with a political overtone, titled: "Form of Social Science Organization and Structure of Newly

Discovered D-particle Compared." Its contents are the same as those of the leaflet, though slightly altered.

At 1500 on 6 December, the writer is arrested in his home on the 47th floor of Building No 54 situated in the Green-color Residential Area in Xinjiekou.

SIWI BAO, the only semicivilian publication in the country, publishes its final issue in its own particular style. It carries a large portrait of the writer in full color and the text of the "Big-Character Poster That Was Put Up Here 22 Years Ago." Later, the entire sparetime editorial staff are reported missing. This becomes a precious issue and is sold at 5 yuan each in the black market.

"What to Do? The proletarian revolutionary tutor has not solved this problem. Marx and Engels had no actual contact with the system of a socialist country. Lenin was the one to set up the first socialist state. Under the complex war conditions, some iron discipline and a strong leadership were necessary for the high centralization of power on a reliable revolutionary. After the founding of the state, the revolutionary leader brought a ready-made leading body into the state structure and gradually formed a regular national system. This system had some vestige of the old society and was at the same time the creation of a theorist. Stalin consolidated this system and developed dictatorship which was passed on to many other countries, including China. The superiority of this system has been confirmed in the war of national defense. But it was failure in times of peace. Aside from the small number of power holders and those who dare not speak the truth, nobody has ever doubted this. The laws of warfare are entirely different from economic laws or the laws of livelihood. If you order "lights out!" must people throughout the country sleep at 2100 hours?

"During the bourgeois revolution, many wars broke out, and the military system, or high centralized power system, was adopted too. But why did the bourgeoisie abandon it and practice the division of power into political, legal and economic powers?

"This is mainly because of the economic foundation of the system of private ownership. However, this is not the only reason. The system of private ownership exists in feudal society as well, but their special features are autocracy and absolutism. Fine bourgeois revolutionaries are quite adept at drawing lessons from feudal society. The autocracy of feudal societies suppresses the free development of capitalism, and the competitive nature of capitalism defeats autocracy. Historically, the capitalist system is a meritorious economic system in promoting the great development of social productive forces in mankind. Even now, it maintains the highest productivity.

"Socialist revolution opposes capitalism and all systems of exploitation. We can clearly see the exploitation of capitalism and the misery brought

about by competitions and economic crises. Therefore, we have to destroy capitalism. But why can't we see the autocratic and the most wanton super-economic exploitation of feudalism which is even more reactionary and more vicious? This is particularly true in our country where feudalism is strongly entrenched and where capitalism has not been fully developed. Our goal is to establish a state which is more advanced than the capitalist society, but not one that is not as good as a capitalist society, though free from capitalist evils.

"Does it mean that we should adopt Western democracy? Any person with clear thinking will know that this is impossible. There are many causes, but one of them is probably that Dr Sun Yat-sen died too early.

"What to do? The present policy of decentralization of economic and legal power is quite correct and necessary, and will play a great role in our national development. However, we must not be satisfied with following in the footstpps of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union does everything except to provide people with democracy. Power is monopolized by a small number of political oligarchs, enforcing shoddy autocracy. Even though Soviet economic power may surpass that of the United States and be able to control the world with strong military power in future, this system can still fail to eliminate its fatal weakness, and will eventually bring about its collapse, because of its autocracy. Those who set up the system may have been great men. In future, however, people outliving their ruling power will correctly point out their merits as well as shortcomings. People have never believed, and will never believe in the superiority of autocracy as praised at a certain historical period.

"We should overtake the Soviet Union not only in economics, but also in the political system. While opposing capitalism, we should also oppose revisionism. However, if our system is not as good as theirs, what kind of 'ism' is ours? It is necessary to provide people with democracy and real power instead of simply calling them 'masters' like using the picture of a cake as a means of appeasing hunger. Although it is impossible to expect all 900 million people to issue orders right and left, they should still be able to select those whom they can trust to run their affairs and should enjoy real supervisory power instead of allowing the 'public servants' of society to fool the masters.

"Supervisory right is a problem highly regarded by Marxism. When the first socialist state was founded, Lenin could not solve this problem and felt the need to stress it repeatedly. Yet this problem has not been solved after all, and it still remains as an important task for the proletarian revolutionary movements. History has never mentioned this unsolved problem, but eventually some one will lead the people in finding the solution, and the people will be forever grateful to him, because he gives people what they love--freedom and democracy."

On 26 December, the court is forced to hear the case under the great

pressure of public opinion. Standing in the dock, the writer makes an impassioned speech. As he recounts the last part of the big-character poster:

"So-called power of supervision is unlike anything that has been preached before. In the past, people who had an idea to put forward had to ask a bureaucrat in a pleading tone to give it so much as a glance. The latter then went through the motions of leafing through sheets of paper expounding the idea. He always casually rejected what might have been the product of several years or several tens of years of work. Whatever he found to his taste was allowed to be published just to keep up appearances. By power of supervision, we now mean the power enabling the people to be really their own masters. To put it more clearly, this is not the power to be a master's servants, but the power at least to be the equal of state leaders and even a power exceeding that of the latter as masters.

"Such power should cover political, economic, legal and other matters. The people's rights, such as the right to vote, the right to personal freedom and the right of propaganda, which so often have been overlooked, must specially be included. Ideological changes in people will surely come with a series of major reformation in state policies. These democratic demands are justified and will sooner or later become so keen as to compel attention.

"The right to vote--This is an important issue, as everyone knows. Thus, the mass media of the party and state have devoted the greatest part of their articles to this subject. It should be a very simple thing for people to write on their voting ticket the name of the one they support the most. There is just no need for repeated efforts toward enlightenment. But given the propaganda of enthusiastic people, what is simple has become complicated, and people's ability to accurately express their desire is even doubted. Thus, the system of fixing jobs by the high levels and the system of lifelong tenure of office have been carried out. This dates back to the founding of the state and has become an accepted part of life. However, the people have never given up such a demand. They will be no less persistent in their demand 100 years from now--a demand which will never dim with the passing of time. This demand is not something that has been produced by that 'class enemy' or 'bad element' to oppose the party and state. Without the influence of the older generation, any generation will spontaneously raise this problem. This is a matter of life and death to the one in power. It also bears on the lives of hundreds of millions of people. As long as this problem is not solved, the people will persist in raising it from generation to generation. Perhaps some people want to capitalize on this problem to promote their own cause. But it is the people who benefit most. If you should let others take advantage of the present change, why should they not avail themselves of it to put the house in order? If someone suggests giving up altogether because of previous unpleasant experiences, then he must have been either mad or acting from ulterior motives.

"I do not want to dwell lengthily on citizens' personal rights. The basic aim of a socialist country is to further people's interests. Though masters in name, they are now actually servants. The control of masters by servants is usually the theme for satires. A 'servant' of the masses offering democracy to the 'master' on a silver plate is indeed an impressive sight for the world. It shows how the master enjoys this feast and how courteously the 'servant' serves it. However, if that naive 'master' proceeds to enjoy this democracy, the subsequent punishment from the 'servant' will be so severe that even the thought of it would produce a shudder for the master up to his dying day. For the pragmatic Chinese people, democracy is too much of a luxury. For democracy, we have to pay too high a price in terms of our future, our family happiness and even our own lives.

"The right of propaganda--I want to say more about this. Its importance is generally acknowledged. The ruler knows this better than the people. I do not mean that the people have a less keen perception. The point I want to make is that the people are more sober-minded than their leaders. They know that like refrigerators and cars, this right is too much of a luxury for them and too much of a goal to dream of. The right of propaganda has been the object of contest among rulers. The people are barred from participation. The contestants consider it better to keep the people out of the game. We do not profess to know the reason why. This is something understood. Anyone in that kind of position understands its implied meaning.

"However, if you want to be a little easier during your administration and to safeguard your undertaking from a premature death, or, to stretch your imagination a little more, to inaugurate a new epoch beginning with your name, you should really let people have the right of propaganda. Without this right, democracy will be weakened! With their right of propaganda in addition to their right of voting and so forth, people will be able to eliminate the source of such monstrosities as Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and change the corrupt practice of entrusting the destiny of the state to a single individual or leaving the fate of hundreds of millions of people in the hands of a few persons.

"We can never belittle the right of propaganda. Of course, the ruler is unlikely to do so. The point I want to make is that the people have a way of expressing what they really think. Then to seize hold of such a powerful weapon as the mass media is to really control their inclinations. No one on earth has even succeeded by treating the common wishes of the people lightly.

"Reliance on laws as a protection against the premature death of democracy and historical achievements, if not out of ulterior motives, would be a tragic error. After its victory, the bourgeoisie also set up a legal system which has played an actual role in preserving relative stability up

to this date. However, laws are only one of the means of protection. Without the freedom of propaganda or the supervision and restriction by publicity, laws may cause a lot of atrocities in the silent darkness. The Watergate case, in which former U.S. President Nixon was involved, could have been covered up behind the iron curtain of laws, but it was through publicity that a dignified president had to resign before an impeachment. Democracy written in laws is only 'lame democracy'; there can be healthy democracy only when it is protected by publicity.

"It would not be difficult to find some concrete form if there is a genuine desire to give people the right of propaganda. However, if only nominal, instead of real, democracy is intended, then the adoption of a suitable form would be really difficult and may require debates of years, decades or even centuries. In fact, any problem in this connection can be solved as long as our party and our state can be more specific in their statements, and particularly if the party and state leaders mean exactly what they say. Our constitution spells out the freedom of speech, the press, assembly and association, and yet there has never been any intention to practice them. The freedom of speech certainly includes that form of freedom shown on the Xidan Democracy Wall, while freedom of the press does not preclude publications by the people. Perhaps the government may publish some journal for the people to air their views freely. Furthermore, the freedom of procession and the freedom to strike are also the channels for people to express their will. It must be stressed that this freedom must no longer mean the freedom, on the part of the persons involved, of losing their jobs, their source of income, and their personal safety and protection, inculpating their relatives and friends, and even getting imprisoned or killed.

"People's enjoyment of the right of masters will produce a widespread and in-depth effect in addition to the abovementioned advantages. This education in democracy will bring a brand new outlook to the Chinese nation.

"Compared with any other form, this can play a more effective role in arousing people's activism and in promoting high-speed economic and political developments.

"It will completely sweep away the decadent literary and art trash which people do not like and produce a lot of good work truly enjoyed by the people.

"It will be able to punish the public servants of society, eliminate bureaucracy and prohibit any action that may defile public opinion.

"There are also other advantages which cannot be enumerated here in concrete terms, since China has never enjoyed democratic life.

"I am not recommending any panacea. I just think that like air and food, these rights are indispensable daily necessities to the people. To raise

the people's standard of living, we should naturally take these rights into account. Would the people tolerate anyone who makes them fight all the time to keep the wolf from the door?

"If you trust that your own cause has mass support, then you may as well adopt these measures. They may be the only counterforce to a despotic or hidden enemy. Instead of providing safeguards for the life or success of a few individuals, they provide safeguards for the everlasting life of hundreds of millions of people. Those rulers seeking to practice despotism have always been afraid of such a force, withholding knowledge from it and scattering and strangling it. Why should a socialist country be afraid of it too? Why should a socialist country be even more afraid of it than feudal emperors?

"History is independent of the human will. When you obey its call, you may be the hero. When you go against it, you may become degenerate. If you are in doubt, just look at the past! You may now profit from basic experiences. If you wait until after you leave this world, it will be too late and you will be notoriously known in history for something unpardonable. Assessments 30 years from now are merciless. But a great figure always has a place in history. The reasons must be borne in mind!"

So ends the big-character poster put up here 22 years ago. The writer cites the following lines from a poem of Chen Liang [7115 0081] of the Song Dynasty as his defense in a court where defense is not permitted:

"In dejection I sing and recall the past.
My skull is in place; what else do I care?
No pent-up feeling is left after I emptied my chest,
But while I live, I still think of the distant future."

On the last day of the year 2,000, the writer is regarded as a member of "the counterrevolutionary group conspiring to split the motherland" and is sentenced to life imprisonment. He is the first and the last of this group convicted. The foreign press says that there is another disagreement among the Chinese Communist leaders. The "case" may be dropped. But nothing is said about the writer. If he really belongs to a certain group, then his turn to reassert himself will at last come.

In June 2001, a U.S. publisher reaps a fat profit from a bestseller entitled, "Crush an Ant to Death Underfoot." It is written by Yu Ji. Its preface tells about all that has been experienced in smuggling the manuscript out of the concentration camp where those holding different political views are held in heavily guarded China.

In September the same year, a criminal falls from a cliff in a quarry or camp west of Shijiazhuang, where criminals are sent to be reformed through labor. The night before, this criminal lies down on his hard wooden bed, repeatedly trying to memorize five English words he is to read out first

thing the next morning. As he lapses into tired sleep with a heavy heart, a solemn-looking national security worker opens his files. With a red pencil, he circles his name or alias--Yu Ji--and then writes down the words: "Cause of death: Fall from a cliff."

On 1 October, amid national day celebrations and broadcasts, a slender middle-aged woman empties a plastic bag of petroleum on her body and immolates herself in front of the Xidan Democracy Wall. A young girl looking very much like the writer of the big-character poster has in tow a young boy with big eyes like those of the woman who had made a torch of herself. While sobbing, they pass around small pieces of paper, one by one, to those pedestrians stopping to comfort them. In a scrawling hand are written these words: "Papa and Mama have died for democracy. We are here to live for democracy."

There is also a poem written by the famous bourgeois revolutionary Petofi:

"Life is indeed precious;
Even more so is love.
For the sake of freedom
Both can be forsaken."

When the policemen begin to notice the two children, they disappear. No one wants to reveal their whereabouts. Even without their respectable and honorable parents, they are too touching with their appealing faces.

At 0600 the same day, two poems, written in the classical style, appear on the Xidan Democracy Wall. It is the same two poems which appeared on the wall at the end of the 1970's. According to the person who copied them, these were that woman's early works.

A poem inspired by the "Song in Ascending the Youzhou Terrace" by Chen Ziang of the Tang Dynasty:

"No freedom ahead,
As we peer into the future.
No freedom behind us,
As we look back.
Tears fill our eyes
As we think of time
That has no beginning or end."

A poem inspired by the "Chi Le Song" of the South and North Dynasties:

"A Democracy Wall lies where Xidan is.
The sky arches over the rolling lands like a vault.
How tiny we are in the universe!
When will democracy smile on us?"

At 2200 that evening, large numbers of troops dispersed great multitudes of people. Amid the broadcast of "a notice to the people," bulldozers level a towering cultural relic of 23 years.

The same day 1 year after, fresh flowers are plentifully filling up on this site. From an extra-large flower basket hangs a tag with these words: "Please contribute money toward rebuilding Democracy Wall." The basket is soon full of banknotes. No less than 10,000 yuan is received.

In the afternoon, a deluxe 2000 Model sedan stops at the sidewalk. An unexpected piece of news is circulating. A certain Political Bureau member has offered garlands.

In the evening, with all the streets just lit up, troops surrounded that structure of the 1950's--the Great Hall of the People. Judging from their heavy armaments, they must have been transferred from the provinces far away.

It is said that another work conference of the Party Central Committee is going on inside.

9411
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SOCIALIST POLITICAL SYSTEM DISCUSSED

Beijing BEIJING ZHICHUN [BEIJING SPRING] in Chinese No 9, undated pp 1-4

[Article by Zheng Yan [6774 3508]: "The Question of Socialist Political System--On the Socialist Democratic System Which Must Be Strictly Enforced in Countries Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat"]

[Text] Socialist practice has proved that the de facto system of lifetime tenure of a top position (though not formally so stipulated) has usually been a very important cause of political upheavals. Since the birth of socialism as a socio-economic system in the world, these upheavals have become a universal political phenomenon. Because of the system of lifetime tenure of the top position, the rights of voting and of supervising and dismissing government officials as well as the function of the congresses--all being an important component of a democratic system--have become mere formalities and powerless to play their proper roles. Therefore, in safeguarding the people's democratic rights and preserving the sustained unity and stability in countries under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the most important task is to abolish the de facto system of lifetime tenure of the top position. In other words, the chairman of the party in power and the chief of state can remain in office only for the duration of a fixed term instead of throughout his lifetime. In political science, this concerns the question of political system for countries under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The political system is the form of organization of the state's political power. In human history, political systems are classified into republic and monarchy. Monarchy again divides into constitutional monarchy and absolute monarchy. According to Marxist doctrines, the question of "class dictatorship" is a question of which class is to hold political power, or a question of the class nature of a state or the type of state, but not exactly the form of organization of political power (that is, the question of political system) to be adopted by the class in power. These two questions, though interrelated, are different from each other. Under the dictatorship of the slave-owner class, there might be a republic or a monarchy. The Roman Republic was different from the Roman Empire not because they were not under the dictatorship of the slave-owner class, but

because the latter was in the form of a monarchy. Even under feudal autocracy, there have been republics as well as monarchies. In medieval Italy, for instance, there were the Venetian Republic, the Florence Republic and the Genoan Republic; in Russia, there was the Novgorod Republic. Under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the organizational forms of state political power are many and varied. In England, there is a constitutional monarchy. In the United States, there is a system of federation under a president. In fascist Germany, however, it is essentially an autocracy.

In political history, political thinkers of nearly all classes had their theories on their own political system. Aristotle and Plato of ancient Greece had their own set of theories on their political systems and their continuation, while thinkers of the feudal class have also their theories of defending monarchy as their political system. To overthrow the feudal absolute monarchy, the bourgeoisie advocated a constitutional system and a republican system as substitutes for absolute monarchy. Socialist theories and bourgeois political theories were born under different historical conditions, and many utopian socialists did not take the question of political system seriously. Morelly in 18th century France held that only a system of monarchy founded on public ownership (which is different from "feudal monarchy" but called "social monarchy" here) can preserve the harmony, solidarity and stability of a political system. He even held that for monarchy, the system of a lifetime tenure was better than that of election, and that the system of unlimited political power for the monarch was better than that of limited political power. He said that people could enjoy happiness only under autocracy, and that the ideal political power is that of an absolute monarchy which is adored by the people. Marx's scientific socialism which is different from utopian socialism. He said: The militant slogan of the working class should be the replacement of the bourgeoisie with the proletariat instead of the replacement of a monarchy with a republic. However, he also clearly pointed out that the struggle for a democratic political system and a republic system by the proletariat was not without significance, because the proletariat must "preserve the democratic republic structure" to be used as a "tool for social reform." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 40). According to Marxist doctrines, a state under the dictatorship of the proletariat can only be established under a republican system, and this type of state is the anti-thesis of the democratic republic of the bourgeoisie. Marx called it "social republic." (Refer to "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, pp 422 and 374).

The question of political system for a state under the dictatorship of the proletariat, though already solved in theory, still remains in practice. The expansion of the Great Purge in the Soviet Union of the 1930's and the series of subversive acts against socialist democracy showed the need for further summing up the historical experiences of the dictatorship of the proletariat. While affirming Stalin's great achievements, the document "On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat,"

discussed in the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of our Party Central Committee also pointed out his errors in exaggerating his own role. During the latter part of his life, he became more and more fond of the cult of personality, thus violating the system of democratic centralism and yet refusing to draw lessons. Yet, 10 years after the publication of the "Two Essays," the same mistake made in the Soviet Union of the 1930's was repeated in our country in the "exaggerated class struggle." In the struggle for socialist revolution and construction after defeating Japanese imperialism and the Chiang Dynasty, Comrade Mao Zedong won great achievements for the party and the people. However, during the Great Cultural Revolution, the cult of personality for Comrade Mao Zedong far exceeded that for Stalin, and modern superstition spread like pestilence. The Great Cultural Revolution was a deification campaign on an unprecedented scale. It changed our political system according to which the National People's Congress should be the supreme power organ. The "People Republic" was actually destroyed and replaced by a feudal fascist autocracy under Lin Biao and the "gang of four." From the painful lessons of the Great Cultural Revolution, we have learned that it is not enough to sum up our experiences on paper alone. We must have a complete system for guarding against the reappearance of people like Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and to eradicate the conditions for their birth. According to Marxist doctrines, the most important point for a country under the dictatorship of the proletariat politically is to set up a socialist republic.

What is a "republic"? Our National People's Congress, which is the supreme organ of power, should be a symbol of a republic system. However, if there is only a symbol and a system of election, we cannot claim to have really established a socialist republic. We know that the difference between a republican and a monarchical system does not lie in election alone. A monarch can ascend the throne according to the hereditary system (including the fixed monarchical system) as well as the system of election. The monarchical system in our country during feudal ages was only hereditary. However, there is also the system of electing monarchs, though not often seen. The first monarch of ancient Rome was elected, and the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire was also elected by a small body. In the past, some monarchs used election and voting as a means of consolidating the monarchical system. In 1859, when Louis Bonaparte of the Second French Empire used election and voting as a means of consolidating his autocracy, Marx sharply pointed out: "This crowned 'Liberator,' (referring to Louis Bonaparte) was still not satisfied. His previous experience in France gave him ample ground for this conclusion: Under proper guidance, people's votes are the best means in the world for building an autocracy on a firm and justifiable foundation." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engel," Vol 13, p 544) Historical facts have shown that if election is used as a means of concentrating supreme state power in the hands of a single person, in the way Louis Bonaparte of the Second French Empire did, the system of that state would be still one of monarchy. A state can be called a republic only when, through election, supreme power is concentrated in the hands of

a certain person for the duration of a fixed term. Unless there is a fixed term, a republican system can usually degenerate into a monarchy. There have been many such instances in history.

Under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the republican system is linked up with bi-party politics. The republican system of the bourgeoisie, like bi-party politics, is the tool of bourgeois dictatorship. Despite the constant changes of the president and the government, this is the form used by the bourgeoisie to preserve their class domination. Unlike the bourgeois political parties which hold office by turn, the communist party is the sole party in power under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, if a system is established whereby the chief of state serves only a fixed term and the chairman of the party in power is actually "in office throughout life," the republican system under the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be firmly established. We have had many lessons in this respect among socialist countries. The situation began with emphasis on "collective leadership" and the "development of democracy" but ends up with the destruction of "collective leadership" and the establishment of "individual dictatorship." If there is a lifetime office for the party chairman, people like Lin Biao and the "gang of four" will emerge sooner or later to start another deification campaign and to rob the broad masses of party members and people of their democratic rights. By that time, it will be very difficult to stop another pestilence of "modern superstition." In the struggle with a new "gang of four," people will have to pay a heavy price of blood, as they did in the "April 5" Movement.

The establishment of a strictly socialist republican system is closely related to the building of a modern socialist country. In the case of China, modernization is not exactly a new task. For over a century, China has been striving for modernization in the hope of becoming powerful. The "Westernization Group's" method of modernization was to import military technology for national defense and suppression of people without, however, offending the Great Qing Empire; the "Restorationists'" method was to use law to restrict the monarch's absolutism and to change absolute monarchy into a constitutional monarchy; the bourgeois revolution headed by Dr Sun Yat-sen wanted to overthrow the Qing Dynasty's absolutism and to found a bourgeois republic. Practice has proved that all these methods have been unsuccessful; only socialism can save China. After decades of arduous struggles, the Chinese people, under the leadership of the CCP, overthrew the Qing Dynasty and founded New Socialist China. However, practice in our socialism for the past 30 years has raised a new problem for our party and our people: In order to build socialism in a country with a feudal tradition of thousands of years, we had to eliminate the remnants of old feudalism while at the same time oppose capitalism. The lifetime tenure of the supreme power by a single person is one of the manifestations of these remnants. On the question of whether there should be a lifetime tenure, Comrade Zhou Enlai was the best example for the CCP and the Chinese people, because he never planned on being a lifetime premier. He once said that in his retirement, he would be a scenarist-director and produce

some theatrical works to commemorate the revolutionary martyrs as a means of educating the younger generation. We believe that if the party chairman or the chief of state only serves fixed terms, (say, for 4 or 7 years, or for two terms of 4 years each consecutively, if elected) and, at the same time, a series of measures are introduced to safeguard the socialist republican system, then the "modern deificationists" (or royalists) like Lin Biao and the "gang of four" will not be able to carry out any "deification campaign" under the pretext of a Great Cultural Revolution. The first thing a newly elected chairman or chief of state will think of would be the way to make greater contributions for the party and the people while he remains in office instead of trying to preserve his own power and position. By that time, admiration for the leader will become admiration for the people, while "people's loyalty to the leader" will be changed to the "leader's loyalty to the people." I believe the Chinese Communist Party members and Chinese people would like to see that day for our socialist country. The party chairman or the premier who has done meritorious deeds for the party and the socialist cause, on the day he leaves office will deliver his "farewell address" through television or the radio network. Then this meritorious leader can become a university professor or a scenarist-director for some film production company. The Chinese party members and people will forever cherish the memory of his historical contributions in the same way the American people are remembering George Washington. We can foresee that under a socialist republican system, and the leadership of the great CCP, the Chinese people will win a sustained unity and stability at home, and our great socialist motherland will become a modernized and powerful socialist country in the East in the near future.

9411
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CHINESE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS REVIEWED

Beijing BEIJING ZHICHUN [BEIJING SPRING] in Chinese No 9, undated pp 7-20

[Article by Wen Qi [2429 0368]: "On Chinese People's Freedom of the Press During the Past 30 Years"]

[Excerpts] Have Chinese citizens had any freedom of the press during the 30 years after liberation?

The constitution's reply is "Yes." True. The "Common Program" adopted by the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference on 29 September 1949 and the constitution adopted by the three subsequent National People's Congresses all stipulated that the citizens of the People's Republic enjoy freedom of the press.

However, practice has enabled us to draw the opposite conclusion--throughout the past 30 years, the citizens' freedom of the press in China has been nonexistent. In the early post-liberation days, this right was restricted by the special permit system. Later, it was simply monopolized by the government. In the third year after the downfall of the "gang of four," civilian publication began to pound at this monopoly, but the state has also set up many defense lines to protect it, sometimes passively by refusing to register civilian publications and by cutting off the supply of paper, ink and other printing materials--thus allowing these publications to die their natural death--and sometimes actively through raids and other police methods or punishment of citizens daring to speak for the offense of expressing opinions.

We have here two documentary materials which can adequately show how the situation of "freedom of the press" stands in China at present. One of them is "Some Regulations for Printing Houses" formulated in 1973 and reprinted by the Beijing Publication Staff Office at a time--2 April 1977--when the application of civilian publications for registration was rejected. These regulations stipulate that printing houses "should guard the political pass well" and must not print anything for others without an introductory letter from organs at or above municipal, prefectoral or bureau levels. The other is the "Notice" issued in the spring of 1979 by the

public security bureaus or administrative organs (note: not legislative organs). The "Notice" prohibits the printing, selling, and displaying of reactionary books, journals and pictorials that are opposed to the Four Principles, adding that violators will be dealt with by the public security organs.

The Chinese constitution does not give the law court the right to interpret the constitution, or the right to void the laws and decrees stipulated in the constitution. In the absence of a referendum for the Chinese citizens, the "Regulations" and the "Notice" practically kill any freedom of the press enjoyed by the Chinese citizens.

Therefore, when asked "Is there freedom of the press in China?" we can say "Yes, though this means only freedom for the state instead of the citizens."

1--Why Is There No Freedom of the Press for Citizens in China Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat?

For 22 years, Chinese people have fought hard for freedom of the press and other democratic rights under the CCP leadership. Why did they lose freedom of the press after the founding of the dictatorship of the proletariat? This question is a thought-provoking one. Apart from political reasons, I feel that this situation was created by theoretical mistakes and confusions.

First, people did not understand that freedom of the press means people's right of supervision over the power of administration. Since they did not know that the present proletarian state was, despite the literal meaning, separated from the people and failed to see the need to supervise the state through various channels, they mistook the will of the state for the will of the people and regarded state monopoly of the press as the people's freedom of the press.

Secondly, people still do not understand that freedom of the press is basically irreconcilable with the system of police rule and prosecution for expressing opinions.

Below, we will further analyze these two points:

1. Is state monopoly on publication the same as freedom of the press for the citizens?

What is citizens' freedom of the press? It is the citizens' will as well as a means for them to express their will. The conflict between people's rights and the power of administration began in 17th century Europe. Freedom of the press was then considered an important aspect of "human rights," and its real significance lay in the protection of the people's right of supervision over the government as a precaution against infringement on people's rights by the administrative authorities. It also helped the government to readily understand the people's requirements and will, while formulating policies and measures.

From the above, we know that the precautionary system, the prosecution for the offense of expressing opinions and the police departments' power to mete out punishment are the three ropes to strangle freedom of the press, though any one of them would be sufficient for the job in any country. In the early post-liberation days, there was no freedom of the press precisely because of these "ropes." Later, the system of special permit too was abolished to make room for government monopoly, while prosecution for the offense of expressing opinions remains untouched all the time. In the spring of 1979, official notices throughout the country said that "all slogans and posters including big-character and small-character posters that are against socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Communist Party leadership and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought...are prohibited," and that "the printing and selling of all reactionary books, journals and pictorials...are prohibited." In effect, this means prosecution for the expression of opinions. According to the notices, the public security organs have the right to persuade, restrain and "warn, detain, and even ascertain where the responsibility for the crime lies" in dealing with people violating the above rules. In other words, the public security organs are given the power to mete out punishment and to interpret the constitution and the laws. Under such circumstances, there can be no freedom of the press to speak of in China.

Some Chinese people seem to be proud of their system of publication when they somewhat sarcastically point out the factitious nature of freedom of the press in some European and American countries. They proudly declare: "Our freedom of the press is only for the laboring people."

It cannot be denied that under the system of private ownership, freedom of the press can be best used as a weapon for the proletariat to fight for rule by its own class, although this freedom is mainly used by the bourgeoisie as a means to preserve its own interests. However, judging from the absence of the precautionary system and of prosecution for expressing opinions in the European and American countries according to their system of publication and the fact that their system applies to all classes attempting to promote their own interests, their freedom of the press is by no means fictitious. Recalling his collaboration with Marx in publishing the NEU RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG, Engels said: "On the Rhine, the code of Napolean was in force...We had unconditional freedom of the press." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 179) It was just because of the truly free system of publication in these European and American countries that this freedom could be used by the bourgeoisie as an effective means of supervising its political representatives and preserving the interests of its own class. Since the system of private ownership has already been abolished in our country as a prerequisite for preventing the exclusive use of this freedom by the bourgeoisie as in the European and American countries, and since the political rights and freedom of the press for the laboring people have been proclaimed, why can't we practice the same system of genuine freedom of the press as that now being practiced in European and American countries, or abolish the precautionary

system and permit the expression of opinions in order that this freedom can become a means for the laboring people to supervise their political representatives and to effectively protect their own interests? Why should the fictitious Prussian style "freedom of the press," which was strongly attacked by Marx, be used to deceive the laboring people of our country?

"We do not give reactionaries the freedom to express their opinion!"--- Very fine! However, let me ask: Were the founders of the people's press in 1957 reactionaries? Are those now publishing the many civilian journals all reactionaries? Most of the founders of BEIJING ZHICHUN, for example, are revolutionary comrades who have been imprisoned for opposing Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Quite a few of them too are Communist Party members and CYL Central Committee members. Can they be reactionaries? Why can't we still obtain the right of publication? Why is our application for registration disapproved and why have our efforts to get letterpress printing been repeatedly obstructed by the public security departments and the publication administration organs? The reason is that some people want to prosecute the offense of expressing opinions on the pretext of "giving no freedom of the press to the reactionaries." They are now not only depriving the proved reactionaries (referring generally to those who have already been deprived of citizens' rights) of the right of publication, but also looking for "reactionaries" on such ambiguous and hardly plausible charges as "opposing the Four Principles," and "publishing reactionary journals," or, in other words, spreading offensive opinions. This was how Zhang Yang [1728 2254] was arrested and given a death sentence. This was how this journal was called "having a bad tendency" and that journal called "having committed serious errors," and therefore all of them have to be banned. This was how, with a touch of the magician's wand, "not giving reactionaries freedom of the press" was immediately transformed into "not giving any citizen freedom of the press."

2--How Will China Practice Freedom of the Press?

How will China practice freedom of the press? This question can be answered in three different ways:

1. The abolition of state monopoly on the press, including printing and distribution ad the removal of all restrictions on the citizen's freedom of the press.
2. The abolition of prosecution for the offense of expressing opinions and limitation of punishment to such offenses as betrayal of state secrets, libels, frame-ups and other similar acts.
3. Punishment for publications which violate the law to be decided by trials in the people's courts instead of being left to the discretion of the public security organs.

1--Are the Provisional "Regulations Concerning the Control of the Publication, Printing and Distribution Trades" of the Early Post-liberation Days Still Applicable?

Some people feel that if Chinese people want to practice freedom of the press, the best way would be to follow the "Provisional Regulations Concerning the Control of the Publication, Printing and Distribution Trades" and the "Provisional Procedures for the Registration of Periodicals" adopted by the 116th meeting of the State Administrative Council on 31 December 1951. We cannot share this view.

These "Regulations" and "Procedures" were formulated in the early post-liberation period and were based on the social conditions of that time. Because of the complex class relations then (which is now entirely different), the system of special permit was included in the "Regulations" under which any public, private, or combined public and private organizations engaged in the publication, printing or distribution trades must "apply to a publication administration organ for approval" (Article 45) and "publication is permitted only provided a registration certificate has been obtained from a higher organ to which the publication administration organ has referred the application." ("Procedure," Article 3)

The use of this special permit was undoubtedly practical soon after liberation, but it is not now. Today, class struggle is on the verge of extinction and the demarcation between the citizens and the very tiny number of reactionaries is very clearly drawn. The enforcement of this special permit system under present conditions will certainly strangle freedom of the press. Furthermore, the present state monopoly on the press, including printing and distribution, is exactly the outcome of the special permit system. If this system is restored, who can guarantee that state monopoly will not follow? It is precisely because of this system that today, civilians desiring to be in the publishing business have to "apply to a publication administration organ for approval," and we have the premonition that none of these civilians can obtain the required permit.

Therefore, we must work out new publication laws and these laws must clearly stipulate the abolition of all forms of "precaution" and "inspection" organs.

2--All Laws and Decrees Must Stipulate That Expression of Opinions Do Not Constitute an Offense

Under the system of ruling by laws, the main task in enforcing freedom of the press is to insure that it is no offense to express opinions. The courts can punish illegal acts but not the expression of opinions in the press.

The new Criminal Law stipulates that "an offense...punishable by law" is "any act which endangers state sovereignty or territorial integrity; jeopardizes the dictatorship of the proletariat; sabotages the socialist revolution or socialist construction; disrupts public order; encroaches upon property owned by the whole people and by the collective; encroaches upon the legitimate private property of a citizen or on a citizen's right of person, democratic rights or other rights; or any other act which endangers society." (Article 10)

Then how to differentiate opinions expressed in publications from acts of offense? This is the key issue in abolishing the prosecution for expressing opinions and practicing freedom of the press. Any oversight on this issue can only provide autocrats with an opportunity to encroach upon a citizen's right of the press.

Our new Criminal Law stipulates that a publication commits an offense punishable by law if it

1. "has a counterrevolutionary intent," "instigates the masses to resist or to disrupt the enforcement of state laws and decrees" and "carries out propaganda instigating the overthrow of the political power of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system (Article 12);
2. "insults or fabricates facts to libel against others (Article 145); and
3. "violates the laws for guarding state secrets by betraying important secrets." (Article 186)

Apart from the above, any opinion expressed in publication should not call for investigation or punishment by law.

From the above, it can be seen that it was precisely the nationwide Notice of 1979--concerning the "prohibition" of publications that are "against socialism, against the dictatorship of the proletariat, against CCP leadership and against Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought"--that violates the constitution and the law on the expression of opinions for the following reasons:

First, the Criminal Law does not mention opposition to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as a punishable offense, because either praise of or opposition to a doctrine or an ideology is entirely a matter of individual faith instead of an act. Our constitution stipulates that citizens have the freedom of belief and publication. This means permission for the citizens to freely disseminate through publication their own principles and ideas, and to freely debate on other doctrines and ideology will result in autocracy and the people's ignorance. Speaking of opposing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, we can see that it is only this stipulation in the Notice that violates the dialectics of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

Secondly, the Criminal Law does not consider "opposing socialism, opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat and opposing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought" in publication a target for prohibition and punishment. It only stipulates that the Law can punish publications "propagating and instigating the overthrow of the political power of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system."

"Opposing" and "instigating the overthrow" are two entirely different concepts. "Opposing," no matter in what form, is only a gesture or an opinion

of a peaceful nature, while "instigating" is an act. Publication can be considered overstepping the boundary of opinion and constituting an act only when it openly uses slogans, verbal or written, calling on the masses to overthrow a political power or a system, or to strive for similar goals. Therefore, by banning publications which "oppose socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the party's leadership," the "Notice" obviously violates the spirit of the law by confusing opinions with acts and by arbitrarily defining the offense of expressing opinions.

Some one may say: If you oppose the "Notice," aren't you violating the Criminal Law concerning "instigating the masses to resist and disrupt the enforcement of state laws and decrees," which is a counterrevolutionary offense? This raises a very good point, because it shows the degree of inaptitude of people in differentiating between opinion and action. If this article is calling on people not to follow the "Notice," then, it is an act and this act is the so-called "instigation" (although, of course, whether this "instigation" is revolutionary or counterrevolutionary in nature is another question). However, this article only shows my views on certain stipulations in the "Notice," and therefore, it can only constitute the offense of expressing an opinion.

Some people may wonder why freedom of the press should be given for bad opinions. The reason is that whether an opinion (not "instigation") is good or bad can never be determined until it is tested in practice. If anyone concludes that an opinion is good or bad before it is even publicized, then I would ask: "On what basis do you form your judgment and what is your criterion of right and wrong? And who is qualified to establish this criterion?" Please imagine, if Comrade Zhang Zhixin's opinion (Refer to "My Viewpoint Cannot Change" in BEIJING ZHICHUN No 8) were judge by people's subjective will and wish, particularly those of a small number of people of the procuratorate organs, would it have been considered bad opinion? Even now, some people, confronted with this question, can only look at one another and remain speechless. Therefore, we hold that the criterion to determine good or bad cannot be the subjective will of people, especially a small number of people, but the social practice of people--a large number of people and probably over a long period of time. For this reason, an opinion should be allowed free expression before it is tested. If it is proved by people's social practice as truth, what right have the publication organs and public security organs to obstruct its publication? If on the other hand the opinion is later to be found to be fallacious by people's social practice, again what right have the publication administration organs to take over people's job, and why should the judicial organs take punitive measures on an opinion already spurned by the people? If some newly publicized work or opinion is not immediately understood, or even considered "reactionary" or "absurd" by the public, but proved to be a truth after a long social practice (and there are many such instances, because truth, in its initial stage, is usually in the hands of a small number of people), then what right have the publication and judicial authorities to oppose the educative role of truth? Have there not been enough of such absurdities as punishments followed by admissions of errors in our country? Is it still not time for us to draw our lessons?

Dialectics tells us that truth and fallacy are the unity of opposites, neither of which can be lacking. A big tree must have branches pointing at different directions, because there cannot be any big tree with but on perpendicular trunk. Therefore, the significance of freedom of the press lies in equal consideration for both good and bad opinions, because whether an opinion is good or bad cannot be determined before being tested. Strictly speaking, therefore, the same freedom should be given to opinions either agreeing or disagreeing with those of the authorities. Again, since agreeable opinions naturally would not be prohibited or punished, the soul of freedom of the press lies in the freedom for disagreeable opinions. Thus if "opposing socialism, opposing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat and opposing party leadership" are to be forbidden and punished, it will be a very far cry from freedom of the press.

Some people are particularly fond of accusing others of the offenses of "malicious attacks," "betraying state secrets" and "libel." Even now, they still enjoy the idea of persecuting those who dare to criticize the leaders or state functionaries on the charge of these offenses. In their opinion, leaders and state functionaries are not the people's servants, but the people's masters, who are sacred and inviolable and, with power in their hands, can brand any truth distasteful to them as "malicious attacks," "betrayal of state secrets" or "libels." What can we say about these people with their ingrained feudal and autocratic ideas? So let them hear what Robespierre said:

"What is the basic superiority of freedom of the press? What is its main purpose? It is to curb the ambition and autocratic style of those who have been vested with power by the people, and to continually remind the people of the possibility of their encroachment on the people's interests. If you (Note: Referring to the members of the Assembly) empower these people to persecute their critics under the pretext of persecuting libels, then the means of restraining state functionaries will be very inadequate and entirely meaningless. Is not this quite obvious? Who can fail to see the immense imbalance of forces in the struggle between the weak and isolated citizens on the one hand and their antagonists who own great wealth and thus enjoy great influence and prestige? Any one offending these dignitaries for the sake of serving the people will not only abandon the benefits from these dignitaries' patronage and be threatened by their persecution, but also inevitably suffer misery from the most humiliating conviction. Then who would dare to carry out this struggle?

On the other hand, who will pass judgment on the judge himself? After all, the offense and mistakes committed by the judge in the discharge of his duty should be considered in the same light as those committed by other civilian officials in the discharge of their duties and subjected to legal sanction by the tribunal of the society. Who will render the final verdict? Who will settle the disputes? There should be a person to serve as the final judge and he should have the freedom to express his opinion and

to pass the final judgment. One principle should be forever remembered, namely, the right of the citizens to voice their opinions and to write articles on the social activists without being legally liable.

"Another irrefutable factor which will obviously and thoroughly prove this truth is that if the citizens are to be legally liable for what they write in opposing the state functionaries, it will mean that they are not allowed to denounce these functionaries until they can find legal proof to support their accusation. However, who can fail to see that this will conflict with the nature of things and the basic principles of social interests? Who does not know of the difficulty of getting this kind of proof? On the other hand, the power-holders have various facilities at their disposal and can even use the beautiful term 'social welfare' as a cover for their personal ambitions. [several words illegible] was not this the plot used by the most dangerous enemies of our motherland? Thus those who need to be closely supervised will be free from supervision. When people eventually obtain the required proof to prevent the vicious designs, the vicious designs have already been carried out; the state may have already ceased to exist before people can point out the dangers it faces! No! This can't be done. In any free country, each citizen is a sentry for freedom. As soon as anything looks ominous, or as soon as there is any sign of danger to freedom, they have the duty to roar."

("On Freedom of the Press")

How impressive are these words! Had we enjoyed such freedom for expressing opinions, could the few clowns like Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ever have brought our country to such a tragic state? And can our people be so ignorant and apathetic that they could watch the throat of the fighter Zhang Zhixin being cut without emotion?

Unfortunately, today, when China has suffered from 10 years' tragedy and when some people who have awakened to sum up the experiences with a heavy heart, there are still those holding "malicious attack," "libel" and "betrayal of state secrets" as "javelins" in their hands ready at any time to be tossed at people daring to criticize the state functionaries. According to their interpretation, "libel" is not that kind of "libel" against citizens according to the definition in the Criminal Law, but the criticism of state functionaries, while "betrayal of state secrets" is not the handing out of state, military, diplomatic and scientific and technological secrets, but the exposure of the privileges enjoyed by the state functionaries. These people usually take advantage of the citizens' lack of political experience and their ignorance of law, and there is no referendum for the citizens to do anything to the regulations, notices and decrees. As a result, the "Notice," which is against the constitution and the laws, was worked out as an encroachment on the citizens' freedom. What kind of people are these? We cannot deny that among them, there are good people who have been misled. However, we must pay even greater attention to those suspicious people. "They are always afraid that the outcries of free people would expose their mean and corrupt secrets...They

know that, in order to deceive and enslave their motherland, they must first silence those brave writers who, like sentries, may awaken the motherland from her deep slumber. They must first kill these sentries in order to capture the positions of their antagonists." (quoted from Robespierre) Shouldn't we be vigilant against this?

Concluding Remarks

Finally, let us briefly review the history of the system of publication and its results in China. This may help us gain a better knowledge of the significance of freedom of the press so that we can make a better choice in future.

Chinese printing dates back to the time of the Sui and Tang Dynasties when blocks and types were used. Before the Qing Dynasty, the government adopted a laissez faire attitude before any work was published, but might find faults after the publication. Many literary inquisitions were conducted in feudal ages, only as punishment for what had already been published. The system was different from the precautionary system of European countries. What is noteworthy is that in the early 20th century, when European countries had one after another discarded the police control of publication which fetters the growth and exchange of ideas, obstructs the development of talents and productive forces, and is contradictory to the system of rule by the people, China, on the contrary, restored the shopworn First Publication Law in China--the "Press Laws" of the 34th year of the reign of Guangxu [0342 4872] of the Qing Dynasty (1908) stipulating that before publishing any newspaper, application should be made to a government office along with the payment of a cash deposit, and the contents of publication should be examined beforehand. This law took place in the darkest period of the history of Chinese publication. It was born amidst the corruption and decadence of the Qing Dynasty.

From the end of the Qing Dynasty to the early post-liberation period, Chinese publication passed through four stages--freedom, lack of freedom, freedom again and the loss of freedom.

After 1911, the "Press Laws" of the Qing Dynasty was abolished, and was replaced by the "Provisional Laws" of the Republic which recognized people's freedom in expressing their opinions (including freedom of speech, writing for publication and the press). There was then a brief period of freedom of the press.

In 1914, when Yuan Shikai [5913 0013 0418] usurped power and the system of precaution and the prosecution for the expr. . . of opinions were restored.

In 1916, when Li Yuanhong [7812 0334 3163] became president, people's demands and protests forced him to abolish Yuan Shikai's "Regulations for the Press" (the Special Permit System). In 1926, Yuan Shikai's "Publication

Laws" (A System of Reporting) was also abolished. Thus for more than 10 years before and after the "May 4" Movement, China enjoyed a fairly long period of freedom of the press. This freedom helped promote science and new culture along with the spread and exchange of ideas in China, besides strengthening the ties between different parts of the country and improving their mutual understanding. The result was the "May 4" Movement and the new nationwide cultural movements with science and democracy as the goal, which gave a strong impetus to China's progress. Many famous Chinese authors, scientists, educationists and revolutionaries emerged during this period. Among many others, we may mention the large number of communist revolutionaries of the older generation who came by the way of free association and free publication. For instance, Mao Zedong, Cai Hesen [5591 0735 2773], He Shuheng [0149 0647 5899] and Li Weihan [2621 4850 3352] founded the "Xinmin Xuehui" [New People's Study Group], the XIAN GJIANG PINCLUN [HSIANG RIVER REVIEW] and the "Xinwen Shushe [New People's Study Group]; Li Dazhao [2621 1129 6856], Zhang Wentian [1728 5113 1131] Tian Han [3944 3352] and Xu Dehend [6079 1795 3801] founded the "Shaonien Zhonggue Xueshe" [Young Chinese Association], and published YOUNG CHINA and SHAONIEN SHIJIE [YOUNG PEOPLE'S WORLD]; Comrade Yun Daiying founded the "Huzhe She" [Mutual Aid Association] and the HUZHOU Journal; Comrades Zhou Enlai and Deng Yingchao founded the "Juewu She" [Awakening Association] and the JUEWU JOURNAL... (The misfortune is that some people who tried to fight hard for the people's rights before coming to power abolished these rights once they came to power. Engels said: "Freedom of the press, association and assembly--these are the rights which the bourgeoisie in the interest of its own rule ought to have fought for but which it itself in its fear now began to dispute insofar as they concerned the workers." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, 0 178) Our party is one that serves the people, and our political power is one that works for the people's interests. Then why can there be in our country, which is under the dictatorship of the proletariat, such flagrant cases of encroachment on citizens' rights? Is not this thought-provoking?

Chiang Kai-shek later usurped the political power and again deprived the people of freedom of the press. China was once again plunged into the abyss of ideological and cultural autocracy.

After liberation, Chinese people were pining for various democratic rights. Should it be claimed that during the turbulent revolutionary times, it was necessary to temporarily restrict certain freedom in order to protect the people's overall freedom, then, after the revolutionary changes, there should be a constitutional government to safeguard the citizens' rights from the encroachment of the authorities. However, such has not been the case. Since 1957, Chinese people have gradually lost their freedom of speech and of the press, and during the Great Cultural Revolution, ideological and cultural dictatorship was exercised with unprecedented severity. As a result, the people became estranged from the party and the government, while the national economy was brought to the brink of collapse.

From history, we can see that whenever the citizens' freedom was safe-guarded, relative political democracy prevailed and social economy became relatively stable. On the other hand, when the citizens' freedom was encroached upon political autocracy and economic recession resulted. Some people said that there should be political democracy and economic stability before citizens' freedom can be spoken of. With this I disagree. From the history of European and American countries, we can see that there should be citizens' freedom before there can be the gradual growth of political democracy (for example, political rights, the right of election, the right of dismissing officials, the rights to set up systems, the right of referendum, and so forth) and rapid economic development. Thus the article "On the Freedom of Speech" carried in WOTU [FERTILE SOIL] MAGAZINE very aptly described the citizens' rights as the "lever" for the realization of democracy.

The Chinese nation is now in a complicated age. While we are striving for the Four Modernizations and restoring and realizing political democracy, how can we belittle the citizens' freedom? Please think for a while: Before people are liberated from autocracy and become "man," would not democracy and the Four Modernizations be merely empty talk? We hope the party and the state will conscientiously sum up their experiences in order that the citizens' freedom as stipulated in the constitution can be completely realized.

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POEM 'CRIES FOR DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS'

Beijing BEIJING ZHICHUN [BEIJING SPRING] in Chinese No 9, undated pp 5-6, 12

[Poem by Hao Ling [5787 3781]: "I Want To Cry"]

[Text] I want to cry!

And really speak up for human rights.
What I say and think is quite plain.
Though crude, my words are sincere.
My throat has been dry too long,
And my suppressed feeling unbearable.
The dumb can be cured by acupuncture,
But no one dares to talk loud.
Only Democracy, Oh, Democracy,
You are the sweet spring water!

Though to be in a socialist state
Is not an extravagant demand,
The price is too high to pay
And the task of getting, too difficult.
Even though speaking up is forbidden,
History still runs its natural course.
Deprived of the right to comment,
We can still see with our eyes.
But, of this episode
We cannot bear the sight.

Our eyes become bloodshot;
Our minds are enveloped in darkness...
The careerists take advantage of people's faith,
And put them in shackles.
Medieval idolatory reappears in a new guise,
In China of the 1970's.
In debates between the true and the false,
The "Supreme Directive" is always used.
In textbooks both good and bad
The very same label is always affixed.
After the tailoring of theories,
Practice suffers the same fate...

In superstition lurks the accomplices' plot;
The sacred crown is worn by evil forces.
Dignity becomes a farce;
Devoutness breeds unbridled power!
Innocent "offenders" are tried in courts,
Because they have spoken plainly against offenses.
People's sons are grieved in prisons
Because--

The dagger is stained with veterans' blood,
In the so-called defense of "Red Political Power."
Law is used as a sanction against law!
Human right is used for trampling on human right!
Is justice really no match for evil?
No! Only because democracy was then worthless!
We mature fast under grim living conditions;
Our minds cannot be full of sweetness.
Realities tell us--

Democracy obtained at the cost of lives
Is more precious than lives themselves.
Moral qualities outlive cheap prestiges;
Death with honor outshines living in dishonor.
But I want to ask,
And I want to cry.
Why should good people suffer death!
Let me speak,
And let me cry!
Restrain me no more!
I hate the past with all my heart,
And cherish the present even more.
Never be swayed by immediate gains
My cry is now just to begin.
Don't be bored with reminders of the past,
Because we do this to prevent a recurrence.
Crying is a way of speaking.
Let us wait for our hope to materialize.
Breathing the air of democracy,
How refreshing it is!

Truth is no longer untouchable and sacred;
Ideals are no longer fantastic like clouds.
We are now standing on solid ground,
With happiness and beauty before us!

Then, comrades, don't be afraid to speak out.
I still want to cry.
While now full of rejoicing,
I cannot help recalling the past.
Though dissatisfied with today,
I have new hopes for the future.
So allow me to praise in a citizen's name
And to criticize with a citizen's power.

BEIJING JOURNAL SUGGESTS INNOCENCE OF LIU SHAOQI

HK021445 Beijing BEIJING ZHICHUN [BEIJING SPRING] in Chinese No 9 undated
pp 25-26 HK

[Article by Li Ying [3810 2019]: "Did You Know?--Kang Sheng Forced Comrade An Ziwen Three Times To Prove That Liu Shaoqi Was a Traitor"]

[Text] The issue about the rehabilitation of Comrade Shaoqi has now become the focus of attention of the people of China. How did an outstanding leader of the party and state of New China become a great traitor overnight? People may get some idea from the example below.

It was April 1967, and An Ziwen, director of the organization department of the CCP Central Committee, had been locked up for more than 6 months. For the past 6 months, he had lost all his personal freedom and had suffered the tortures of feudal punishment everyday.

One day, Yang so and so, deputy director of the No 1 special case office of the CCP Central Committee, came with another person to talk to An Ziwen. No sooner had An entered the room, than Yang so and so asked him to sit down in a soft sofa saying that he had come to discuss only one issue-- and that was the issue about Liu Shaoqi. Yang told An: If you can write some materials saying that Liu Shaoqi is a traitor, then you can immediately take a big Hongqi limousine and go to Diaoyutai to talk to our responsible comrade of the central authorities. An asked: Is the responsible comrade of the central authorities you mentioned Kang Sheng? Yang replied: Yes. An Said: "I have been working in the organization department of the CCP Central Committee for 21 years and have never heard anybody say that Liu Shaoqi is a traitor. I therefore will not have the honor of meeting the senior officer of the central authorities." Yang finally left in a huff after talking to An for more than half an hour.

On January 21, 1968, An Ziwen was formally arrested and thrown into Qinimeng prison. In spring, Yang so and so again came to the prison with another person to see An Ziwen. The meeting was not an interrogation however, just a talk. They allowed the debilitated An Ziwen to sit down on the same kind of chair on which they were sitting and, in an unprecedented way, poured him a glass of water. All this was treatment a prisoner could not enjoy. Yang

said: Somebody has scored the first meritorious achievement of proving that Liu Shaoqi is a traitor. Nevertheless, it would still be a very great benefit to you if you would score the second one.

An said: "I do not understand. Could you please be more specific"?

Yang said: "You know pretty well what sort of a place this is. If you could come in here, you also could get out. Are you not willing to have a reunion with your wife, children and relatives"?

An said: "I not only want to have a reunion with my relatives, but I also want to work for the party. However, I have no knowledge about Liu Shaoqi being a traitor. What can I do about it"?

Yang said: "Liu Shaoqi had turned traitor three times in the past. The first time was in 1925 when he was arrested in the Changsha Book Store. He turned traitor. The second time was in 1930 when he was arrested in Shenyang. Again he turned traitor. The third time was in 1936 when Liu Shaoqi left Yanan. He was arrested on board a train on his way to Longhai. Once again he turned traitor when he was escorted to Tianjin. I suppose you are familiar with this once I have brought it up"?

An said: "I know nothing about this. Since you know all about it, why do you not just write about it yourself"?

Yang said: "When I let you write it, I am giving you an opportunity to score a meritorious achievement."

The talk lasted for nearly an hour but nothing came of it. They could do nothing but leave.

Just before the Ninth Party Congress in 1969, Yang so and so again came with a fat woman to see An Ziwen. They were as courteous as their second meeting and allowed An to have a seat and drink.

Yang said: "Let me tell you a piece of good news. The Ninth Party Congress will soon open. If you can prove that Liu Shaoqi is a traitor, we will definitely give you a fair treatment. Of course, it will be impossible for you to continue to be the director of the organization department. However, you can still be a committee member."

An asked: "You mean a member of the CCP Central Committee"?

Yang said: "That is right."

An said: "But I really have no idea. If I did have any idea, I would have said it long ago while I was working in the organization department of the CCP Central Committee. You must never ask about it in the future."

Yang said: "You had better consider your situation. I will give you a few more minutes. This is your last chance."

An said: "There is no need for that. I know nothing."

Yang again left in a huff.

Judging from this, people will have to use their heads to assess whether the material about Liu Shaoqi turning traitor, which people of all ages throughout the country knew about, are reliable or not.

CSO: 4005

BEIJING JOURNAL ON WEI, FU TRIALS

HK030543 Beijing BEIJING ZHICHUN [BEIJING SPRING] in Chinese No 9 undated
p 26 HK

[Text] It was learned that there was no ashes in Comrade Tian Han's cinerary casket, only the "National Anthem" and a script of the play "Guan Hanqing," which he wrote. This was because anyone who went to claim the traitor's ashes at that time would have been condemned for failing to draw a clear demarcation line to separate himself from the traitor. Therefore noone dared to claim the ashes. In fact we have no idea of the whereabouts of the ashes of many people who were persecuted to death during the cultural revolution.

On 15 October this year, a notice was put up on the notice board at the front door of the Beijing Municipal Intermediate People's Court, announcing that the court session to try the Wei Jingsheng case was to be postponed, and that all visitors' tickets were invalid.

On 16 October, the Beijing Municipal Intermediate People's Court opened a court session to try Wei Jingsheng. On that day, there was no notice put up on the notice board at the front door of the court. However, the masses learned about it and went to claim their visitors' tickets with their employees' cards. Nevertheless, the reply they got was: "No more tickets. The tickets were all given out." When asked about the procedure concerning ticket issuing such as the hour, the way and persons entitled to receive tickets, Kang so and so, a staff member of the reception office, said: "I am not giving an answer."

On 17 October, the Beijing Municipal Intermediate People's Court opened a court session to try Fu Yuehua. Although the visitors' tickets were issued only after careful selection, there was an uproar in the public gallery. During the trial, the visitors denounced the court for creating an unjust case; as a result, it was impossible for the trial to continue. Fu Yuehua therefore made a deep bow to the public gallery before she left the court to show her respect.

After newspaper reports about the new features of the work-study schools, some people wanted to continue covering the news. However, they were politely refused. The reason given was: the students were all gone.

The highest circulation of the journal HONGQI during the cultural revolution was 13 million. After the smashing of the "gang of four," it dropped to 11 million. Moreover, as the journal was once controlled by the "whatever faction" and vigorously preached the "whatever" views, their sales have declined drastically. The central authorities have now decided to cut the circulation of the journal down to 9 million.

Although Vice Chairman Deng said that foreign reporters would be allowed to attend the public trial of Wei and Fu, foreign reporters were refused admission. They waited in the rain until the end of the public trial.

CSO: 4005

LETTERS TO 'BEIJING ZHICHUN' REGARDING WEI, FU CASES

Beijing BEIJING ZHICHUN [BEIJING SPRING] in Chinese No 9, undated pp 33-3

[Letters to the Editor]

[Text] Editor's Note: The court trials of the Wei and Fu cases have produced a strong repercussion among the masses. We have received many letters from our readers and some of the typical ones are being selected for publication as follows. We hope the departments concerned will face realities squarely, consider the overall situation and draw the proper conclusion.

Comrade Editor:

After the trial of Wei Qingsheng by the Beijing Municipal Intermediate People's Court, the socialist legal system, which has been undermined and trampled underfoot by the "gang of four" is now gradually restored and improved. This is very heartening.

Due sanction must be applied against the offenders who betray the motherland and sell our military intelligence to foreigners. Yet the case of Wei Qingsheng raises some ambiguous points for which I have my own individual interpretation. I want to discuss this matter here in the hope that the confused ideas in my mind can be cleared away. (I am not clear about the situation of Wei Qingsheng and therefore cannot say anything in his defense.)

1. Our country has always upheld party leadership, and used the program, line, principles and policies of the party to guide the masses. Since Wei Qingsheng was only a worker in the parks, how could he possibly obtain the party's military secret to be supplied to foreigners? Had there not been certain leak from the party, how could Wei have any secret to sell? Should not this matter be pursued further so that appropriate action can be taken? Therefore, we hold that in order to uphold the sanctity of laws and to manage the country efficiently, it is necessary to strictly enforce party discipline and to rectify the party work-style; otherwise equality for all before the law will become a mockery with adverse effects on the party's prestige among the masses and on the party leadership.

2. According to press reports (since we did not attend the public trial), the public procurator accused Wei Qingsheng of open violation of the constitution article which reads: "Citizens must support the leadership of the CCP, support the socialist system." We cannot help but ask these questions: Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in their rampage raised the slogan "party interests above all things"; formulated the "Six Points on Public Security"; suppressed people's differing views with fascist methods; exercised fascist dictatorship over the people; imprisoned veteran marshals who had won outstanding merits in the War of Liberation and persecuted them until they died or were crippled; and cut the throat of Zhang Zhixin, a Communist Party member who fought for truth, and later executed her... Is it true that people "must support" these acts? People had absolute "faith" in and "must support" the party and thus had to suffer misery for 10 years. Should we not carefully sum up these lessons written in blood? Should not we hold the executioners of people legally responsible and apply legal sanctions against the "gang of four"? Was the blood of Zhang Zhixin and the martyrs at Tiananmen Square shed for nothing? Is it not somewhat paradoxical that one or two workers are now punished in an effort to uphold the sanctity of law? How can these unequal laws be convincing to and be truly supported by the people? As Comrade Ye Jianying aptly put it: "It is true that the people's interests have sometimes been seriously harmed as a result of mistakes in our work in certain periods since liberation. Yet even then, our people still had full confidence in our party and government and in our ability to correct our mistakes." People have the duty of making well-intentioned criticism and rational proposals on certain real social problems, the system of cadres, the management of enterprises, and so forth. Practice since the founding of the People's Republic has proved that people's democratic rights are the fundamental guarantee of national economic development. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the restoration of people's democratic life, in its initial stage, inevitably causes some biased views or unduly strong words. Yet they are not only harmless, but also beneficial to the party. Of course, a strict demarcation must be drawn between wrong statements and criminal acts, otherwise, it will hurt people's democratic life and rights and hinder the realization of the Four Modernizations.

3. The CCP was born under conditions of a confrontation between classes. It was sincerely supported by the people, because it stood for the people's interests. Party leadership was formed through the practice of struggles and won the support of the masses through party theories and policies instead of coercion. At the same time, party leadership should always be tested by the practice of struggles. It is the party's principle to struggle for the interests of the people, but coercion from the party against the common people must not be excessive. This is an immutable truth.

4. Comrade Mao Zedong always advocated the ideological method and work style of seeking truth from facts and persuading people by reasoning. This is particularly important in dealing with laws. The practice of the "gang of four" in the indiscriminate use of "labels" and "clubs" as a means of forcing people to believe that the press said must not be permitted to

reappear. I hope the press will honestly report objective facts, preferably through live television coverage, and let people see for themselves-- instead of through a third person--and form their own judgment. We must believe that after the struggles with Lin Biao and the "gang of four," people have greatly enhanced their political consciousness and their power of discernment. They can now tell the difference between genuine and sham socialism and between genuine and sham Marxism-Leninism.

Xun Li [1416 3810]
Beijing, 20 October 1979

Comrade Editor:

I did not read ~~it~~ ~~it~~ of BEIJING ZHICHUN before the Municipal Party Committee Office. This is indeed regrettable. Those who were then with me gave this advice: "Don't read any more. People have been arrested."

At that time, I thought: Should I be brave? Or cautious? Now, there must be a lot of people picking on others' faults. No matter how many books you have looked up and how much research and exploration you have conducted, they can destroy you by pointing at one or two printed sentences. There is no need to suffer, even though temporarily. This is what these despicable people would do. Take extra caution. It is a counterdemocratic force.

The use of strong words should not constitute a slander or libel... I found the published verdict extremely absurd; you can feel "sticks" and "clubs" flying all over the sky along with a ridiculous line of reasoning which leaves people confounded! What can we do?! Zhang Zhixin's death is mourned only by common people of the lower levels, and these people are being forced to be forgetful. Indeed many people have forgotten. A new idol have been carved and the lessons we have learned are all forgotten. Does this augur China's bright future? The same old tune is being harped on while the reforms carried out have not even touched the big evils. Soon everything will disappear like smoke when all truly great people are washed out and can do nothing more. The big rivers will continue to flow eastward as before and history will repeat itself. Yet Chinese people think they can be proud of the civilization of the ancient East and of the present proletariat. If this situation continues, how can China be saved and how can it ever rejuvenate itself? Except for the submissive people with a deeply ingrained slavish instinct, all good people may die of indignation and grief. Do you want to be strong-willed? Do you want to speak the truth? The law will "cure" you. Wait and see! China provides the best atmosphere for cultivating the mind, and for one or more decades, there has never been anyone who cannot be "cured." Don't you see the "rightists" of yore? How many of them can afford to be militant today...?

Please burn this after reading. I have no desire to become a victim of literary inquisition.

Yan Zhen [7346 3791]
Northeast, 19 October 1979
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Messrs Editors:

On the eve of his departure for foreign countries, Chairman Hua told a French correspondent--who asked about the young people arrested for holding dissident political views--that he intended to prosecute them. State leaders must keep their words; so only 2 or 3 days after Chairman Hua's departure, the Beijing Municipal Intermediate People's Court tried two cases involving the well-known Wei Qingsheng and Fu Yuehua. Then the propaganda machine operated at full blast to acclaim our legal system. However, from what I saw on the television and read in the newspapers, I was for a while befuddled.

Wei ran a paper and Fu appealed to the higher authorities. These are the well-known facts. After the publication of the Six-point Notice in March, they were arrested one after another. The charges as revealed by the Public Security Bureau were: For Wei: 1--Counterrevolution; 2--Selling military intelligence for 20 yuan in Xidan; and 3--Stealing a motor car. For Fu: Sleeping with foreigners and at the same time divulging information on the economy. The 2 months stipulated in the rules of arrest passed. Then the Public Security Bureau declared that these cases would be tried in court, and another 3 months passed with nothing done. I thought that these two persons might have already been released and even suspected that what I had heard was only the handiwork of rumor-mongers. Then suddenly the trials took place. The public servants carried out their duties in such a mysterious manner that we masters of the country cannot help being astonished.

Reading the press reports, I felt very disturbed. The first charge against Wei had been altered to say that he supplied intelligence gratis. How can a park worker like Wei have access to state secrets? The name of the commander in the Vietnam war was listed in REFERENCE. Even though Wei could fly over the wall to steal away the safe from the General Chief of Staff Headquarters and then directly or indirectly give it to the enemy, then the enemy receiving the intelligence should undoubtedly be a Vietnamese bandit or a spy hired by the Vietnamese bandits. According to international practice, the citizen of a neutral country serving as a spy and having admitted his status as such after being caught should be expelled from the country, or, if he refuses to admit it, should be dealt with according to Chinese law. The spy of a belligerent country should be executed as a matter of course. However, no spy involved in this case was tried in court. Since the spy himself was not punished, why should the person accused of supplying the intelligence be tried? Furthermore, the public procurator could not even mention the name or the nationality of the foreigner, apparently in an effort to protect him. If this person is to be protected, then he is a friend instead of an enemy. According to the law clearly spelled out, who in this case could be charged with the offense of "stealing information to be supplied to a foreign enemy"? Press reports said that Wei's contacts with this foreigner were carried out with great secrecy. How could the public security workers know about this in such great detail? Did the police collude with this foreigner to set a trap?

The second charge against Wei was that he was "counter-revolutionary." I made a special effort to find the TANSUO, and, after reading it carefully, could not find anything wrong other than some uncomplimentary remarks on bureaucracy and some political discussions. Speech does not constitute a crime. If it does, then how about the party's recent admission that it did not know what revisionism is. Tito has been reviled for many years; yet even the Soviet Union has admitted that it could not prove that what he advocated was not socialism. If his administration is more efficient than ours, what shall we call our own? I am afraid it would be hard to give an exact nomenclature. Then how can there be such an audacious charge as opposing socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat against anyone simply because he does not like them?

The case of Fu Yuehua was even more ridiculous. A female worker in a socialist country has been outraged and even raped by a party committee secretary. Then she was deprived of her means of living. Failing to get justice, she finally appealed to the central authorities. Instead of redressing her grievance, the authorities even made a countercharge and threw her into prison. If this was not a way to keep her out of circulation, what could it be? Furthermore, the Municipal Intermediate People's court neither listened to Fu Yuehua's complaint of being raped nor tried to ascertain whether the secretary had actually raped her. Then how could it accuse Fu of libeling against others and even summon the person, originally a suspect in the rape complaint, and his cohorts as witnesses against her? Appealing to the higher authorities is being encouraged by the central authorities and lodging complaints is a right provided by the constitution. However, she was arrested for exercising that right. The perpetrator of injustice was responsible for both assembling a crowd and causing trouble. How could another person be blamed for this? Thus Fu Yuehua was used as a scapegoat in an effort to keep the public quiet. Speaking of libeling, the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau should be the real culprit. The charge on which Fu Yuehua was arrested is now proved groundless, and yet she has been incarcerated for half a year. How will the authorities explain this? Why does the court fail to uphold justice by putting the Public Security Bureau on trial because it has deliberately violated the laws? What kind of people's court is this and what school of law it is upholding? How can the sacred voting citizens help feeling outraged?

After all, an ordinary person is an ordinary person. He may get mad at something, but only for a short while and then regret it with an inferiority complex. Don't you see that when Wei and Fu were imprisoned, small people like us were shouting and milling around below the Democracy Wall for more than half a year and yet failed to produce the desired effect on the authorities. Yet as soon as the chairman gave a wink, the "official verdict" of 15 years imprisonment was immediately passed. However, they have sung about "great success" for 3 years; about emancipation of the mind for 2 years; and about practice as the criterion for 1 year with no concrete result. From this, we can see that the words of big men as well can be

or cannot be trusted or completely trusted. We have also heard the chairman saying that the "gang of four," instead of being sentenced to death, will be guaranteed a good living. I have not yet consulted the oracles to find out if words out of a person's mouth can be a substitute for the law. However, in my plant, I have already seen those who were admitted into the party because of their criticizing Deng in January and were promoted because of their hitting people in April, now rejoicing over the news that their former masters are safe and sound and that their new master is not hard to get along with. Alas! If such is the state of affairs, how can the Four Modernizations ever be successful? Even though they may succeed, the only difference will be the appearance of some digital control apparatus for searching and arresting and some electronic equipment for torturing. When I recalled some remarks I made which were unpleasant to some people at a conference and turned around to see my wife and children sleeping on the kang [heatable brick bed], could a common like me still feel at ease?

The big man has a knife while the small man has a mouth. If the big man wants to behead a small man, he will proceed to do it no matter whether the small man is cared or not. If people are cut down like grass without making any noise, they die manfully according to the ancient tradition. Since we small people have not studied classics, we cannot observe the ancient rites. When we are to be killed, we will shout loud, so loud indeed as to disturb the whole neighborhood. If we cannot shout, we will writhes our body so that the big man cannot hack easily. He may even damage his blade in a writhing body, in which case he will have to expend more energy when he again hacks at somebody.

What do you think, gentlemen?

My greetings to you!

Postscript: This letter was originally intended for RENMIN RIBAO. A second thought told me: Since people were arrested at a time when democracy was encouraged, why should I willingly throw myself into a dragnet when dictatorship is being preached. Therefore, I changed my mind and am sending it to you instead. I still have to use a pseudonym, lest you may report me to the authorities and my wife will cry and revile on hearing of it.

Yi Chuanfu [A Rustic]
Beijing, 24 October 1979

Editorial Department of BEIJING ZHICHUN:

On 16 October, the Municipal Intermediate Court sentenced Wei Jingsheng to 15 years imprisonment according to law. Wei got exactly what he deserves. This is very good! So the socialist legal system has been perfected; this

is a matter for rejoicing by the people and the party. It has greatly boosted the revolutionary people's morale and deflated the arrogance of the reactionaries.

In the old society, the laboring people had not enough to eat or to wear. It was Chairman Mao who removed the three big mountains and rescued us from our misery.

However, the handful of class enemies, who have inherited the mantle of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" bitterly hate and mortally fear the strategic plan of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua in "grasping class struggle as the key link and bringing about great order across the land" which should produce great results in 3 years. Flaunting the banners of democracy and human rights, they are opposing Chairman Mao, the unified leadership of the party, and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and trying to seize power from the people. At first, our socialist country gave the people maximum democracy and freedom, and the Party Central Committee particularly allowed people to put up big-character posters on the Xidan Democracy Wall. Such concessions were simply unthinkable in the old society. Let me ask these capitalist overlords, old and young: Can such good things be found in bourgeois countries? Capitalism can give people only the freedom of unemployment and hunger. Not satisfied with their reactionary big-character posters on the Xidan Democracy Wall, these people, who have stirred up troubles in the name of democracy, still had to organize parades, instigate appeals to the higher authorities, undermine social order and even set up underground printing houses to sell pamphlets for the purpose of slandering and confusing people and undermining the Four Modernizations. If their conspiracy succeeds, the laboring people will have to taste a second dose of misery. Let me tell you: The broad masses hate your guts. Now, the sentence of 15 years imprisonment passed by the Municipal Intermediate Court for Wei Jingsheng according to law has sounded the warning for the handful of counterrevolutionaries. Don't you ever think that the party's leniency can be unlimited and that the dictatorship of the proletariat is weak and can be belittled. Chairman Mao has talked about "lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own feet." We are keeping a complete record of your crimes, and you can never get away with it. Surrender yourselves to the people quickly. If you continue your stubborn resistance, the only way out for you is to hell!

Wei Dong [5898 2638]
Peking, 24 October 1979

Comrade Editor:

The article "A Serious Trial" which I have read seems to involve many issues, particularly those of the law court. There are also some others concerning the style of the trial as well as some theories of right and wrong which should be clarified. If there is any TANSUO copies left, I

hope you will mail them to me. After reading the press reports, I consider it necessary to concretely analyze what Wei Jingsheng said. Instead of judging him by his strong words, we should know the circumstances under which he used these words, the issues involved, and the purpose of these words. From the press reports, I can see only "stick-wielding," "label-affixing," fault-finding and unfair advantage being taken. The newspaper accounts were also full of lame arguments and queer reasoning. How I wish some one could record the entire court proceedings on tape and let us hear them.

I have thought of many things in the past several days. Democratic reform is a far distant goal, and many monsters are barring the way to it. If the freedom of speech cannot be won, there can be no other right to speak of. Some people may plot against you, and you cannot be careful all the time. This situation must be changed. For the present, however, we must be careful to avoid unnecessary suffering even though it may be only temporary. Many jackals are watching you closely, hoping to find a weak spot and then delivering a deadly blow at BEIJING ZHICHUN. From what I can see today, you have far-sight as well as foresight. Yet you have to be careful in protecting yourself and, more important still, in attacking the counterdemocratic forces. Let us all believe in and uphold truth! Be solidly united! Be careful with our methods! And keep on struggling!

Your reader and friend.
20 October

9411
CSO: 4005

MISCELLANEOUS NEWS ITEMS REPORTED

Beijing BEIJING ZHICHUN [BEIJING SPRING] in Chinese No 9, undated pp 20, 26, 32

[Text] After the publication of his poem "Generals, You Can't Do That" in JIEFANGJUN BAO [LIBERATION ARMY DAILY] CONGREN RIBAO and AHONGGUE QUINGNIAN BAO, Ye Wenfu [0673 2429 4375] received many reprimands over the phone from the secretaries of generals. Amid all these reprimands, he was forced to leave the army and had to return to civilian life.

Hu Shusheng [5171 6615 3932], the plain-clothes public security worker of the Wuhan Municipal Public Security Bureau, who shot and killed a public bus conductor, was arrested and should have been sentenced to death. Yet the public security leaders did not agree; instead, they tried to defend Hu, saying: "He did not know his pistol was loaded. It was an accident and he deserves leniency." After massive struggles by the family of the deceased and the workers of the Wuhan Public Bus Company for the murderer to be brought to justice, criminal Hu Shusheng was finally dealt with according to law.

The swindler, who was arrested for fraudulence by posing as the son of Li Da, a high-level cadre, pleaded not guilty. He said: "My only offense is that I am not really the son of Li Da. If I really am, what can you do? Here (in the Public Security Bureau) I don't want to say anything. I will do my talking before the broad masses in court." A team of lawyers composed of the teachers and students of the Fudan [1788 2481] Law School, volunteered to defend him. Now he has been released as not guilty.

According to information received, the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau has recently begun a large-scale recruitment of people for the police force, to be trained as loyal defenders of the Seven Laws. Also, beginning from next year, watchmen and preliminary investigators will be in police uniform.

According to information received, Comrade Tien Han's ash casket contains no ash, but, instead, a written "National Anthem," and his scenario "Guan Han Qing." This is because no one dared to collect his ashes lest he would be charged with failing to draw a clear demarcation with a renegade. The ashes of many who had been hounded to death during the Great Cultural Revolution are nowhere to be found.

On 15 October 1979, a Notice was put up on the bulletin board by the entrance of the Beijing Municipal Intermediate People's Court, announcing a postponement of the court trial of Wei Jingsheng. All auditors' passes previously issued were declared null and void. On the following day, the same court tried Wei Jingsheng's case. No notice was put up on the bulletin board. Some people who had heard of this news came for the auditors' passes by presenting their workers' identification cards. The reply: "No more passes. All have been issued." When asked about the time and method of issuing these passes and who was eligible for these passes, the receptionist Kang So-and-so said: "No comment."

Despite Vice Chairman Deng's statement that foreign correspondents could attend the public trials of Wei Qingsheng and Fu Yuehua, foreign correspondents were stopped at the door and had to wait for the result of the trials in the rain.

On 17 October 1979, the case of Fu Yuehua was tried in the Beijing Municipal Intermediate People's Court. Although the issue of auditors' passes had been limited to a very carefully selected audience, there were such outcries against the miscarriage of justice that the court proceedings had to be suspended. In appreciation, Fu Yuehua made a deep bow to the auditors.

Following up the lead of press reports on the new appearance of work-study schools, some people requesting interviews were politely refused. Reason: The students had run away.

The peak circulation of RED FLAG during the cultural revolution was 13 million. After the downfall of the "gang of four," it dropped to 11 million. Now, because this journal is run by the "All That Is" elements who energetically promote the "All That Is" viewpoint, the circulation has again registered a sharp drop. The central authorities have decided to reduce its circulation to 9 million.

Some funny talk is now in circulation. According to the talkers, a proposal, based on an analysis of the present situation, should be submitted to the Sixth National People's Congress for a revision of the Constitution. Article 45 reads: "Citizens enjoy freedom of speech, correspondence, the press, assembly, association, procession, demonstration and the freedom to strike." However, because of commitments to the Four Modernizations and the Four Upholdings, this article should be cancelled as a precaution against propaganda on bourgeois democracy and freedom by some people.

Correction: It is hereby announced that the news about Ye Wenfu's return to civilian life from the army, according to our REFERENCE NEWS, is still an unconfirmed rumor.

9411
CSO: 4005

INCREASING EMPLOYMENT SAID URGENT TASK

Beijing SIHUA LUNTAN [FOUR MODERNIZATIONS FORUM] in Chinese No 1, 15 Sep 79
pp 1-5

[Article by Cui Quanhong [1508 0356 4767]: "Employment and the Four Modernizations--A Comment on the Development of China's Labor Power Resources"]

[Text] This article was posted on the Democracy Wall during the spring festival period; a number of letters has been received as a result from readers in some provinces and municipalities. I am taking this opportunity here to express my thanks and at the same time indicate my regret that certain major newspapers have chosen not to discuss such a great problem which has been of concern to the people of the country in general.

-- The Author

To most fully and most thoroughly develop and utilize the rich labor power resources of our country is the key to the early realization of our Four Modernizations and an important task for the whole party and the people of the whole country. All those who are enthusiastic about the Four Modernizations should struggle strenuously for increasing employment.

Marx pointed out clearly in his "Critique of the Gotha Program" that "labor is not the source of all riches," and only when "there are corresponding objects and means" would it become "a source of riches." Labor power is the father of riches; the means of production is the mother of riches. Only when labor power and the means of production are united in a laboring process can riches be created. Apart from the means of production, labor power cannot create any riches by itself; apart from labor power, the means of production, too, cannot become itself riches of any utility value. Only when the two are combined can full play be given to their joint function. The more fully united they are, the greater would be the values they can create; otherwise, the lesser would result. When labor power remains constant, the more advanced the instruments use are, the greater would be the riches created; otherwise, the lesser would result. Viewed in the context of large-scale operations, the role of the degree of labor power exerted

in the creation of such riches can be only very insignificant; the question of reaping greater or lesser riches depends mainly on the degree of technological sophistication on the part of the objects of labor power and the means of production. For an individual laborer, letting him carry things with a shoulder pole or push a small cart is very different from letting him drive a truck in terms of the riches that can be created as a result. On the average, each productive worker creates about 10,000 yuan of value each year; each employee or worker in a commune or brigade, only about 1,000 yuan; whereas each member of a commune, merely about 100 yuan more or less. Although each toils from beginning to end each year just the same in these cases, there is a great difference in the amounts of riches they are able to create respectively. During the past year, 40 million productive workers created 423 billion yuan of production value, but 800 million peasants created only 145 billion yuan of production value. The reason there was a 100-fold difference between the production value created by the workers in comparison to that created by the peasants was not because the workers exerted their labor 100 times more than did the peasants; in reality, it is often the peasants who exert themselves far more strenuously than the workers. The reason the workers were able to create an amount of production value 100 times that of the peasants was mainly that the result was made possible by the modern mechanized equipment of high efficiency at their disposal. From this we can see that, in order to vastly increase social wealth, it is imperative for us to strive by all and every means to give full play to the potential of advanced means of production, to fully make use of the susceptibility of advanced means of production to being employed in combinations, to eliminate as much as possible the waste of such susceptibility, and to do our best to increase the combined use of labor power and advanced means of production. The speed with which China is to realize its Four Modernizations depends precisely on the speed with which its labor power and advanced means of production can be used in such a combination, and on the speed with which industrial employment can be increased. Both positive and negative experiences within and without the country have proved this.

Former Prime Minister of Japan Tanaka pointed out: "Through the vast current of the Japanese economy, the following two laws can be found: one is that the increase in the total national product and the increase in the national per capita income occur in a positive ratio in relation to the decrease in the proportion of the population engaged in primary (agricultural) production enterprises and the increase in the proportions of the population engaged in secondary and tertiary (i.e., industrial and commercial) production enterprises as well as in relation to urban development" ("On the Transformation of the Japanese Isles").

After liberation, the People's Government, under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao, has done a great deal of work in increasing employment in our country. It not only borrowed money at home but also did so abroad and thereby increased investment in construction and opportunities for employment on a large scale, so that not only China's vast unemployment

question was largely solved but many were absorbed by new opportunities of employment. By 1959, the number of the country's workers increased by more than 10 times compared to that of 1949. This more than 10-fold increase in the total value of the national product, whereby the people's living standards, too, continually increased at an average yearly rate of 7-9 percent. Such successful experiences are worthy of our hearty exaltation and energetic promotion from now on.

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were opposed to the combination of labor power and advanced means of production and thereby seriously sabotaged the historical progress of China's industrialization. They were against people operating modern machines, and encouraged and drove them instead to go to the countryside to take up primitive instruments, leaving cars intact while asking them to drive cow carts. and leaving machines unused while forcing them to handle iron hoes. Even college students were asked to take up the instruments of the days of Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty in order to create only the production value of the days of Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty as well.... Under such retrogressive measures of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," many employment opportunities could not be utilized, many machines in many factories could not be operated because of a lack of personnel, the rate of equipment utilization was extremely low, and a loss of some 700 billion yuan in income was thus suffered by the country each year on the one hand, whereas, on the other hand, a serious surplus of labor power resulted in the countryside, with a very serious shortage of work generally appearing on the farms of the various localities.

Our great teacher Chairman Mao said in 1956: "What required three people in the past can be done by two after co-operative transformation, an indication of the superiority of socialism" (Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Vol V, p 253). Along with today's kind of mechanization, it may now require only one person. During all these years, there has been not only no reduction of people, but even an increase of nearly 100 percent in newly available labor power. Yet, there has been a decrease, on the other hand, in arable land to varying degrees which more or less contributed toward the increasingly serious labor power surplus in the countryside. Today, a scene has emerged in many localities where commune members take turns to carry out labor while a team leader fails to know how best to make the arrangements. It is estimated that there are in the whole country probably some 90 million surplus laborers available. If we stubbornly close our eyes to such a reality without working hard at channeling these 90 million surplus laborers into the various industrial fronts, then, on the one hand industry will not be able to develop forward rapidly while on the other hand the labor productivity rate in agriculture itself cannot be raised any further--it cannot be raised any further even if many more machines are transferred to it. It would be useless if we do not find outlets for these surplus laborers but merely talk about having "carts and horses return to the fields, laborers return to their production teams." How to quickly explore the precious resources of these 90 million laborers has already become the key question in the realization of our Four Modernizations.

Besides, there probably exist some 25 million surplus laborers in the towns and cities (youths, and family members of employees and workers awaiting employment). Together, there are thus about 115 million laborers in the whole country whose resources are awaiting our exploration. These precious labor resources, in addition, are different from those available in other countries. Most of them are good laborers with a socialist consciousness and a junior middle school level of culture. If these laborers are all channeled into the commune and production brigade enterprises, there can be an increase of 115 billion yuan in production value each year for the whole country. If they are channeled into the modern enterprises of the towns and cities, there can be an increase of 1.15 trillion yuan in production value each year for the whole country, thus raising the total value of the country's production, namely, two to three times. At the same time, the labor productivity rate in the countryside can also be raised by one to two times. Why shall we not be pleased by doing such a very good thing as this? The whole party and people of the whole country should exert themselves in this regard so as to increase employment for these more than 100 million people as much and as fast as possible.

Some say that there are still not so many opportunities for employment in existence today, and even in 10 years 100 million jobs can hardly be accommodated. In reality, this prevailing viewpoint is entirely erroneous and hardly corresponds to the actual situation in our country. A large amount of incontestable data derived from surveys indicates that there exist today in our country sufficient modern means of production to be united with this contingent of more than 100 million laborers; if we only pursue a series of reforms and endeavors, it is entirely possible to absorb this contingent of more than 100 million persons into employment.

1. About 70 percent of the country's factories are engaged in single shift or two-shift production; several more shifts can be added. The average utilization rate of the country's machine equipment is 30-50 percent; another 50-70 percent of the potential remains to be explored. We can very well take advantage of the superiority of socialism in considering improvements in this regard by allocating, for example, three or more operators to each of the country's machine, car, and lift so as to keep all of the mechanized equipment turned on 24 hours a day, fully loaded, and without stop.

1. There are 7 million construction workers in our country today, who make up 0.7 percent of the total population, whereas those of the United States, the Soviet Union and Japan make up 4 percent of their respective population. According to American, Japanese and Soviet standards, then, we should have 36 million construction workers. Our present contingent of limited construction workers is therefore not in proportion to our population. If we rely only on this contingent, we can hardly realize the Four Modernizations even in 300 years. Therefore, we must seek to expand it rapidly and drastically. It is entirely possible to double the number of construction workers on the basis of our existing network of construction equipment by practicing a three-shift system. This is something that can be entirely achieved immediately (many construction workers say that a three-shift system is

entirely feasible in construction work). And in this regard alone an increase of 15 million jobs can already be accomplished.

2. If more than three operators are allocated to each of the cars, tractors...and they are kept in operation day and night without stop (many operators say it is possible for them to operate in the night and there is no difficulty whatsoever technically), in this regard, again, an increase of 15 million jobs can also be accomplished.

3. If we put into practice a 5-working-day week system at the various factories in general (this is done in the Soviet Union and the whole of Europe today and in this respect we should demonstrate greater superiority than revisionism and capitalism), and change all factories and machines into a system of four shifts and three relays in their production work, then in this regard, too, another increase of 50-60 million jobs can be accomplished.

4. Heavy and clumsy physical labor such as moving, loading and unloading, can also be changed into a system of four shifts with 6 hours of work assigned to each shift. This should be able not only to accommodate an additional 10 million jobs but also serve to improve the labor system involved. Socialist labor cannot be handled around the circle of concepts such as increasing the intensity of labor and prolonging the duration of labor; it cannot be handled so as to let one part of the people using the means of labor work to death while letting another part of the people who cannot even get close to such means be bored to no end. The proper thing is to let every one have a share when there is work to do as well as when there is rice to eat, even if this should mean that everyone must thus work a while less.

5. Let us energetically develop enterprises under the collective ownership system and commune and production brigade enterprises, plus legally permissible private labor.

The non-compression path (in relying on the increase in quantity and scale) of developing production has a meaning as important as that of the compression path of doing so (in relying on technological advancement) insofar as their ultimate effects on the development of production are concerned. The compression path requires investment and time--it is subject to great limitations. The non-compression path is the easiest to realize in a country endowed with the greatest resources of labor power such as ours. This is the basic characteristic and basic path of the Chinese style of modernization.

The reason many factories practice only the single-shift system is not because there is any insurmountable technical difficulty but because of habit. Although habit can create reality, it is not necessarily scientific or unchangeable. For example, if we say to the youth sent down to the countryside: "Please operate the car in the night, and you are to be given 2 dollars for each night," I don't think anyone would object. Rather

than seeing many people in the country put up their stalls and push their little carts in the night, it is better to ask them to operate their cars in the night. The key here is to emancipate our thinking and break up the habit.

II. Some say, "there are not enough material goods for consumption, and we cannot therefore accommodate the increase of so many working people"; in reality these are the words of a novice. The factories in all parts of the country all have large amounts of cumulated stock in the material goods they have produced. Survey data obtained from more than 100 large and small warehouses in Beijing's petroleum-chemical industry district indicate that the cumulated amount in storage is generally more than a dozen times the amount in use at the various factories and warehouses. Therefore, an increase of 100 million and more working people will absolutely create no problem whatsoever. Of course, we should first of all increase employment in the fuel and power departments and units, and we should increase such employment in relevant proportions.

III. Some say: "After so many more people are absorbed into the work force, what is there for us to pay them with?" They thus become worried about financial difficulties, but their concern is actually superfluous here. For example, if we ask a youth returning from the countryside to operate a car in the night, it is possible for him to earn more than 50 dollars for a night's driving, yet he is paid at most only 2 dollars, thus leaving a net profit of more than 40 dollars for the state. How is it that we need to worry about having no money to pay his wage? In the final analysis, it is bound to be a case of the financial administration making a lot of money. Even if 100 million working people are added, the monthly additional expenditure would be only 5 billion yuan, and the yearly expenditure would be only 60 billion yuan. In such a huge country as ours, what does it matter if there is to be an increase of 60 billion yuan in expenditure? More important is the fact that this 60 billion yuan can earn back several times that much and thereby help replenish the nation's treasury.

III [sic]. Some say: "When there are more people earning wages, how are there going to be so many things to sell to them?" This, too, is the worry on the part of an imbecile about how heaven might fall. For example, one worker can make a big wooden counter each day, but his wage can buy only 0.02 counter; how is it possible for the workers to buy up all the counters in the shop? On the contrary, when employed people become more numerous, the people who become engaged in the production of sofas, televisions, and refrigerators must likewise be more numerous, and the sofas, televisions and refrigerators in the stores and in people's homes will also become more numerous. All this serves powerfully to strengthen the prosperity of the economy. Fuller employment and greater purchasing power can only eliminate slow sales and stagnant consumption and promote production and circulation. The Japanese Prime Minister Ikeda's double-increase economic plan proves this point. Today, if we wish to gain greater speed, it would be necessary for us to break up our financial and economic conservatism and to vastly increase employment and people's purchasing power.

IV. Some are worried that "when those who eat high-grade grain increase in number, society is bound to experience the kind of hunger and scarcity we witnessed in 1962." This is absolutely impossible. First of all, when these 100 million or so people leave the countryside, it does not necessarily mean that the production of grains will decrease; along with increased mechanization, such production is likely to increase, instead. Looking at the situation internationally, it is also not possible for us to be forced to return to the state similar to that of 1962. It is entirely possible now for us to use our resources and industrial products to exchange grains and auxiliary foodstuff with our numerous foreign friends. Therefore, worries in this regard, too, are unnecessary.

When we say we should take the countryside as our base, it does not necessarily mean to place plenty of labor power in the countryside. We must know that relying on the countryside itself cannot realize the modernization of agriculture. However much such labor power thus placed there would be superfluous, and what has happened from the time of the First Emperor of Qin to the time of Emperor Guangxu stands as clear proof. In order to develop agriculture, we must first develop industry and let industry supply plenty of water pumps and tractors to arm agriculture. At present, we should take advantage of international conditions by using, as do Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore and Switzerland, the agriculture of foreign countries as our base, by using the grains of foreign countries to sustain our industry and then using our own industry again to promote our agriculture. This way, we can work out things faster. To use China's own agriculture as the base is one of the reasons the development of China's economy has been slow over these years.

In our country there are about 20 million newly born laborers entering society each year. After solving the above-mentioned question of 100 million jobs, we should also solve this new question of 20 million additional opportunities for employment each year. It requires us to strive by all and every means to come up with the vast capital needed and thereby increase our investment in construction on a large scale.

Greatly increasing industrial employment and enabling China to advance toward an industrial society is Chairman Mao's consistent policy. In his "The Coalition Government" he clearly pointed out: "There must be several tens of millions of peasants entering the cities and entering the factories. If China wants to build powerful national industries and many modern cities, there must be a process by which a rural population turns itself into an urban population." Let us hold high Chairman Mao's banner and accelerate the speed to complete this process, and let us console him with an early realization of the Four Modernizations.

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DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM OF FACTORY MANAGEMENT URGED

Beijing SIHUA LUNTAN [FOUR MODERNIZATIONS FORUM] in Chinese No 1, 15 Sep 79
pp 5-10

[Article by Cui Quanhong [1508 0356 4767]: "Strengthen Factory Democracy"]

[Text] --Why do many cadres violate the law and disrupt discipline and seek entry at the back door? When such cadres commit mistakes like these, this is of course related to their bad character, but we cannot say that it has nothing to do with the failings of our management system.

--Why do many factories often fail for a long time to get their production rolling? Some say "because the cadres there are incompetent." Then why are those incompetent cadres allowed so often to serve as leaders there?

Failing for a long time to get production rolling, workers feeling paralyzed, corruption, filching, seeking entry at the back door and dislocations of the like can all be ultimately attributed to the failings of our management system, and their explanations can likewise be derived from such failings in our management system.

Under the prevailing management system, not all the organs in power at the various levels in the factory structure are elected by the people, set up by the people, subject to use by the people or supervision under the people. The secretary [of the party committee] and the factory director are placed in the category of those who are appointed by the superior level according to their ranks; that is to say, they are appointed by a few people. The foresight of a few people can only be limited; they cannot follow everybody around. It is usually very easy for cadres below to indulge in petty and mean actions or to do bad things. No matter how bad these cadres might get to be, and whatever opinions the masses might have formed about them would be in vain, so long as they can hoodwink their superior officers they can always get promoted, and power would always be on their side to help them achieve this. When the secretary and the factory director are simultaneously endowed with legislative power, executive power, as well as judicial power to rule over thousands of people without being subject to the slightest control, it is little wonder that under such circumstances numerous big and small personalities like Zhi Qun and Wang Shouxing (a big criminal

convicted of corruption) should emerge. It can be predicted that if we fail to carry out a radical reform in respect to the management system fraught with such failings, instances of cadres violating the law and disrupting discipline will not be eliminated even if we conduct 10,000 campaigns.

Marx and Engels conducted many studies as to the forms of man's political organization in society and also profoundly analyzed the defects of appointing people to jobs according to their ranks. But they gave very high mark to the democratic approach of the Paris Commune. As Marx pointed out: "The trouble of the proletariat is that it enjoys no power not just in certain specific instances but in general; it can never appeal to historical rights but only appeal to human rights" (Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol 1, p 14). In order to secure solutions to our social problems, the fundamental thing is to thoroughly establish the human rights of the proletariat in all political and economic activities.

This shows that the appointment system merely acknowledges the power of those at the superior level but ignores and even writes off the human rights of the proletariat. The appointment system has always been the magic weapon with which the slave-owner and landlord classes maintained their dictatorial rule. Under the corrupting effects of power, this appointment system has always been instrumental in instigating the power holders to resort to factionalism and selfishness, to hide their corruptness and harbor dirty practices, and to effect terrorism through their dictatorship. Rousseau sharply pointed out in this regard: "Those profit and position seekers who attempt to get promoted in office and get rich give their consent to be fettered, because they hope in turn to impose such fetters on others" (On the Origins of Man's Inequality and Its Foundation," l. 142). For this reason, even the democratic republicans among the bourgeois have long ago disdained to follow the appointment system. In Britain, France, Germany, Japan, Canada, Australia...especially in America, the appointment system can only be found at the refuse dump and the museum of history. Of course, certain office holders are still appointed. But such appointment is but a form of indirect election under the Congress produced by a system of popular election.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "Who gave us the power we have? It was the working class, the poor, lower and middle peasants; it was the broad toiling masses who make up more than 90 percent of our population" (RENMIN RIBAO, 16 October 1968). Only the system of popular election can realize this, while the appointment system precisely serves to write it off, taking the conferment of power as a granting of favor by office holders at the superior level that requires the appointees to profess gratitude with feeling. Those who aspire to high positions and fat salaries would sharpen their heads and wave their tails and play all kinds of tricks in order to get the leaders to like them. They would demonstrate obedience and docility without principle, and ingratiate themselves with base and shameless flattery for the sole purpose of obtaining that appointment and that uplift some day. This appointment system makes it inevitable that a power holder feels responsible only to his own position and the superior who uplifted

him, but not to the masses of the people under his guidance. In order to consolidate the power already gained and possibly scoop up even more power, the bureaucrats usually follow established practices and practice conservatism in politics; in organizational and personnel matters, they either stress personal relations by employing only those who are related to them or make a point of rounding up some running dogs and cronies of their own. All this contributes to the vulgarity and corruption of the organs of power, and herein lies one of the important reasons why the production of many factories cannot easily get rolling. For the sake of eliminating phenomena of this kind, it is necessary to thoroughly establish the human rights of the proletariat and the principle of democracy.

For, under socialist conditions, even though every one of the toiling masses of the people is a master of the state and its enterprises, and every one is entitled to the right of control over the means of production, it is impossible for the people directly to control such means of production and they must do so through the cadres as representatives of the people. Therefore, there are different degrees of separation between the people's ownership and their right of control. Under such circumstances, it would be utterly insufficient if the people were without specific democracy and rights for carrying out effective supervision but would have to rely only on the power holders' conscience to serve them. Because, apart from providing the power holders the conditions to carry out their duties, power also gives them conditions to obtain rights and benefits for themselves. Engels pointed out: "...they gained special benefits which were also in opposition to those of the people who conferred power on them, and they became thus independent agents in relation to those people," "with relative independence to develop forward on their own" ("Letters of Marx," p 65). Plenty of practice has proved that power has a corrupting effect on people. The power to manage the public affairs of society will become a privilege to exploit and oppress the members of society. There is a certain tendency for power to expand toward a form of such privilege, and this tendency becomes reinforced especially under the ownership system of a highly politically and economically unified state. This is the political and economic source from which has stemmed the privileged stratum of many a socialist country.

Such a source can be eliminated, and such privilege can also be done away with. That kind of talk which takes the tone that "problems arising from the power-wielding circles are inevitable and insurmountable" is incorrect. Nixon and Tanaka, as heads of state and commanders-in-chief of their respective armed forces, can hardly be said to have not enjoyed the highest position or the greatest power; yet even they could not do whatever they pleased but could only conduct themselves within the law and the will of the ruling class. Our working class is the most powerful ruling class in history; we too should be able to achieve this. It should be entirely possible for us to destroy all ambitious characters and plotters in their budding state and thus create conditions under which it would be neither possible for people like Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and Wang Shouxing to exist nor likely for them to re-emerge. "One can have everything when one has power"

--this should be something non-existent under the conditions of democracy and the rule of law. The key here is the need to strengthen democracy and the rule of law, to spread the network of democracy and the rule of law everywhere.

Chairman Hua has succinctly and profoundly pointed out: "The question of socialist democracy is first of all a question of the state system of the socialist state. Socialist democracy, or people's democracy, is one in which the people as a whole enjoy the highest power to run the country. This is an unshakeable political principle of the socialist system, and a deviation from this fundamental political principle constitutes sabotage to the very nature of the socialist state itself." "Governments at the various levels must stress and strengthen the democratic life within the administrative organs, enterprises and business units at their corresponding levels. We must carry out the system of representative congresses of the employees and workers in all enterprises. Responsible persons of these enterprises must make periodic reports to such congresses on their work and listen to opinions expressed at those congresses. We must promote and improve the system for electing cadres. Not only must the leaders of the various levels within the communes in the countryside carry out elections by the masses, but the leaders at the basic level in the industrial and mining enterprises, stores, and business units of the city must also gradually carry out elections by the masses. They must also gradually expand the electoral circles according to needs and possibilities... It is also possible to have superior elements who are selfless, highly efficient in their spiritual enterprises and practical management, fit abilities, and balanced in organizational matters elected to the leadership posts.... We must extensively study relevant experiences at home and abroad in order to expand and improve our various systems concerning the election, etc., as the appointment system, evaluation system, supervision system, reward and punishment system, recall system, rotation system, retirement system, etc. We must resolutely change that 'iron rice bowl' approach by which nobody pays attention whether the work done is good or bad and by which reward and punishment are not clearly delineated, one can get away, promoted but not demoted, or one can get into a situation that can easily become corrupt... so as to strictly prevent the possibility of any kind of corruption and to drive from public servants of the people into tort, siding on the side of the people." These important instructions of Chairman Hua address the will and aspiration of millions of people, and thus constitute the fundamental guarantee for us to achieve great order across the land and to realize our Four Modernizations.

There has emerged in the world today a "trend of industrial democratization." A considerable number of enterprises are asserting workers' and the management ranks so that the workers are allowed to participate in the meetings of the trustees and the meetings of the supervisors, thereby verifying just the so-called "joint decision making system," "free opinion system," "employee suggestion system," "preliminary council deliberation system," etc. Some countries have even promulgated laws governing workers' participation in management. For example, West Germany has prescribed in its laws respectively that "half of the workers' representatives must serve as trustees

of their enterprise. At the same time, the council of the trustees is obligated to allow the workers to serve as trustees with privileges equal to those of other trustees..." "A private corporation hiring 20 or more employees must establish a labor association which is qualified to participate in the direction of the company's personnel and economic policies and arrangements." In Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Romania and socialist states of the like, an economic reform movement of large scale has been instituted in recent years. Its central content has been precisely to strengthen the worker's position as master in his enterprise, to establish self-government for the workers, to enlarge the autonomy on the part of the enterprises, and to carry out the financial and economic autonomy of the enterprises...

The emergence of industrial democracy is on the one hand a result of long periods of struggle on the part of the workers and on the other hand a demand by the process of modern production itself. Some people have made a comparison of the economy of West Germany and that of Britain, and their opinion is that West Germany has gained speed mainly because it was blessed with the workers' participation in management, whereas Britain has slowed down mainly because it excluded the workers from participation in management. From the practices of the various countries, it is obvious that the workers' participation in management has achieved results. Of course, under the conditions of capitalism, the workers' participation in management has been neither complete nor thorough. Only under the conditions of socialism can workers participate in the management of enterprises in the finest form and most complete and most thorough manner. At present, we should take full advantage of the superiority of socialism, absorb the great merits of the management in the various democratic states, and thoroughly strengthen and improve the foundation for our country's modernization —democracy in the factories and enterprises. We must thoroughly eliminate the separation and confrontation between capital (i.e., the right of control over the means of production) and labor, unite closely the ownership of the working masses and their right of control over the means of production, change their indirect control into direct control, change their indirect possession under the state ownership system into direct possession under the social ownership system (i.e., the system of enterprise autonomy), and change indirect democracy into direct democracy.

1. Establish in the various enterprises congresses of the employees' representatives which are equivalent to the congresses of the shareholders' representatives:

Workers are not only employees (laborers) of a factory but also its shareholders; they not only have the right to work there but also the right to manage it and run its business. The congress of employees' representatives is the organization by which the whole body of worker-shareholders exercises its democratic control over the factory. It is the organ of the highest power for the factory and it is responsible to the whole body of the employees in workers and reports its work to it. It is given legislative power and supervisory power, and it has the responsibility to conduct

elections, to establish and dissolve executive organs and business organs and to appoint and recall their members, to formulate, examine and approve the factory's rules and regulations, discipline, budget, final account, agreements, plans, programs, and to supervise the factory director and the working situation of the entire management structure. During the meeting of the congress of employees' representatives, the workers' council elected by the congress would serve as the standing organ to take charge of its daily work. The workers' council should fix a date to hear the factory director's briefing, and to inspect and supervise the work of the entire factory's management structure. The workers' council is responsible to the congress of employees' representatives and also tenders to it its work report.

Under the workers' council there should be established a control committee, a proposals and bills committee, a production committee, and a welfare committee.

The control committee shall exercise control over all cadres, workers, and divisions and offices. It is charged with the special duty of accepting for examination the various criticisms, opinions, cases and disputes submitted by the employees and workers (as the equivalent to an enterprise court), it shall mete out warning, demerit, fine, dismissal, demotion, expulsion and measures of the like in respect to wrongdoing cadres and workers who have committed corruption, seeking entry at the back door, malfeasance, etc. It also takes the responsibility of appraising good criticisms and rewarding them. This control committee replaces the ordinary protection and defense division.

The proposals and bills committee has the special duty of gathering, accepting and carrying out the reasonable proposals submitted by the employees and workers, and of transmitting or charging such reasonable proposals concerned for adoption and execution by competent units therein. It also has the responsibility of appraising such proposals and granting rewards to submitting them.

The production committee and welfare committee are charged with the special duties of urging and encouraging the relevant, competent units concerned to undertake continually those measures that help improve production and welfare.

The quota of membership of the congress of employees' representatives should, on the basis of the given factory's conditions, be reasonably allocated to the various workshops, divisions and offices. The workers shall elect representatives of their own workshop directly. The factory director and workshop foremen and other principal cadres from the latter's level upward shall not, during their tenure as such, be elected as factory representatives. Factory representatives are no other than factory congressmen; they must have certain talents and meet conditions such as being of good character and reputation. Factory representatives are entitled to request documents and data within the factory for examination, and, to put questions on pertinent matters to personnel concerned. The term of factory

representatives' service is 1 year after each election. Factory representatives and members of the workers' council and the various committees, as a rule, are not to depart from their respective production posts; they are required to practice sparetime revolution, and they are to be given a subsidiary wage for this.

II. There shall be established a factory management committee that is headed by the factory director and that includes as its members leaders of the various business divisions, offices and workshops. It shall exercise the factory's administrative power, be accountable to the congress of employees' representatives and the workers' council, and submit reports on its work to them. This factory management committee shall adopt the collective leadership system and teamwork system. All important decisions must be passed by a majority vote of the management committee; in the case of certain important questions which become stymied because of controversy, they may be submitted to the congress of employees' representatives for arbitration. The elected factory director is also the chairman of the factory management committee charged with the highest administrative responsibilities. The term for the factory director and the management committee is 2 years after each election.

The factory director, the deputy factory director and other principal leading cadres are elected by the congress of employees' representatives. If and when they seek to have cadres sent from the superior level, they must be supported by a majority vote of the workers' council. Only cadres from the level of workshop foremen and above may participate in a campaign for the factory directorship. Those who participate in such a campaign must deliver campaign speeches so as to express their clear views as to what problems exist in the factory and what are their solutions to those problems, so as to let the employees and workers have a choice. When the factory director accedes to his office, he must deliver an inaugural address on his administration to give the employees and workers plenty of guarantees so as to let the employees and workers oversee his work. The factory management committee is organized by persons nominated by the factory director duly elected and then affirmed by a majority vote of the congress of employees' representatives. This factory management committee shall have at its disposal all power and means for improving management so that, to the extent permitted by the laws of the state and discipline of the party, it shall proceed by all and every means to handle well political ideology, production business, wage, finance, education, and other items of work.

The factory management committee shall in turn establish a special technological revolution committee to handle the special work of organizing and developing mass activities in technological renovation through coordinated efforts between the various concerned divisions and offices. It shall be required to organize up to 70 percent of all employees and workers into the various technological renovation activities. Under this technological revolution committee shall be established a current developments group, an information group, a group for tackling special issues...etc., so as to continue to work on the promotion of the factory's technological advancement.

Group leaders, shift leaders and workers' foremen are all directly elected by the workers; unless passed by a two-thirds majority of the congress of employees' representatives of the factory, their dismissal by officers of a superior level shall not be countenanced.

Impeachment system: if a certain person or a certain group submits that a certain cadre should be recalled, that person or group shall first of all turn the case over to the control committee for an examination of the targeted person's regular work; then a pertinent resolution shall be passed by a two-thirds majority vote of the workers' council. The recall of the factory director shall be passed by a two-thirds majority vote of the congress of employees' representatives of the factory. When a judge fails to resign, his request shall be subject to passage by majority no-confidence vote of the workers' council. Any factory director who gets elected because he has laid plots and tricks such as using welfare as a bait or using state resources to attract votes is a lame factory director whom anyone can accuse before an organ at the superior level and before the local court. The state, on the other hand, may dissolve the workers' council and the factory management committee according to law.

III. The enterprise party committee is: Party and Class - that "big matters" policy and resolutely opposed to the subordination of all "big matters" to the superior level every day that leads towards counter-revolutionary revisionism." It shall take the socialist responsibility to fulfill well the task of party building, and become a genuine and true socialist vanguard organization that consistently leads the workers to struggle for necessary struggles against old people and old things in a bold and determined manner. It must not reduce a political organ to a mere administrative organ of administrative power that seeks to eliminate the bourgeois class and bourgeois rights. It is no longer permissible to consider the two entities as substituting government with party, cultural entity with party, and making no difference between public and private and between party and enterprise.

Let us rely on the party committee as the CCP and DCCPUS. Let us also comprise a lively, dialectical situation where there is a relationship of tension between the three entities of the workers' council, the factory manager, and the party committee under common goals, and let us also let them supervise one another and emulate one another; let us end up with ending the dictatorial, stagnant situation where one tendency covers up another tendency under unified leadership. Let us protect and keep our enterprises in a lively, exuberant state of development by a fundamental reconsolidation of the prevailing system.

NEW PLANNING SYSTEM ADVOCATED

Beijing SIHUA LUNTAN [FOUR MODERNIZATIONS FORUM] in Chinese No 1, 15 Sep 79
pp 18-20

[Article by Cui Quanhong [1508 0356 4767]: "Establish a New Planning System"]

[Text] In order to harmonize the activities of several hundred million people and several million enterprises, to realize the idealization of the national economy, and to maintain a dynamic balance amidst great strides, it is necessary to establish a powerful social planning system.

Under the natural economy of self-sufficiency on an individual basis, the question of harmonizing the various productive units does not exist. But under a socialized commodity economy, this question becomes increasingly important.

Engels said: In the different departments and units of social production, each enterprise "proceeds with its own production. None is sure what quantity of the kind of products it produces is going to appear in the market and how much of it is needed. None is sure whether its individual product is really demanded by people, whether it can earn back its cost, or whether it can be sold. Under such circumstances, anarchy reigns supreme in social production" ("The Development of Socialism From Utopia to Science"). This is precisely the kind of blind contradiction between the social character of production and the producers themselves which we propose to study here.

Vice Premier Li said when he received the manager of REUTERS on 23 August 1978: "We have always criticized the blindness of capitalism in respect to economic development, but, in reality, there will be blindness even under the socialist system if we fail to plan well." "In China, sometimes we produce blindly, not knowing what is needed by the consumers." This is the situation in the domestic market; it might be more so in the external market.

To solve well the blind contradiction between the social character of production and the producers themselves is the very substance of social management.

Modern capitalism relies on limited market survey and periodic crisis in solving this contradiction.

The Soviet Union, on the other hand, relies on the bureaucratic apparatus that carries out centralized planning to solve this contradiction.

What is practiced in Korea and Romania is a unified planning system which places the various regions and various departments and units in the uniform plan of the state under the unified leadership of the state planning commission. Even though they have achieved certain results, their success is limited to the maintenance of a rough balance.

Ours is actually a semi-planned economy, with a considerable part of local enterprises and commune and production brigade enterprises not included in the state plan. There exists a considerable amount of extra-plan production and circulation. This kind of dual system may be the worst possible kind.

The state planning commission is incapable of guaranteeing the fullest development of every enterprise's potential, or of assuring the realization of the best possible proportionate development of all enterprises.

1. The state allocation system, for instance, is incapable of guaranteeing that each enterprise would be able to purchase the most suitable materials for its production in terms of quality, quantity, price, transportation cost, and delivery time.

2. It is incapable of guaranteeing that each enterprise would be able to give full play to its potential in terms of equipment capacity, technical know-how, etc. For example, when an enterprise has the equipment and experienced workers for the production of a certain product, it may be impossible for the state plan to look into the details of such situations and thereby give more careful, pertinent consideration, and arrange, as a result, other products for the enterprise instead. A given enterprise may be able to produce 10,000 pieces of a certain product, but the state plan may arrange only 500 pieces....

3. The state plan cannot guarantee that a given enterprise achieve idealized development: it may be that, according to conditions like the market, resources, etc., an enterprise would be able to greatly increase its profit if it buys a certain number of equipment items, carries out certain measures of reform, and re-directs or renovates certain types of products, but the state plan cannot take these into consideration.

The sumtotal of the idealized management achievements of all enterprises would be the overall idealization of the national economy, which means

namely proportionate development at a high speed. To realize the idealization of the management of the enterprises is the foundation and premise for the idealization of the entire national economy. To guarantee and encourage the various enterprises to realize their management and to gain their greatest profit by all and every means is the very mark and task of the best possible economic planning.

In order to enable all enterprises to produce continually in a balanced way and solve their supply as well as their sales problems, it is necessary to establish a unified social planning system that includes the five economic elements of state-managed enterprises, local state-managed enterprises, collectively owned enterprises, commune and production brigade enterprises, and individual economy.

The social planning system is a gigantic information network for planning that includes the state planning commission, the provincial and municipal planning commissions, and the planning divisions of the various enterprises themselves. It does not just rely on the supposedly always brilliant and accurate calculations of a few central planning organs, but it depends mainly on the efforts of the hundreds of thousands of basic level planning personnel to coordinate the economic activities of the various units. It is not something that imposes a framework prescribed by a few on the way the great majority must handle their affairs; it is the sumtotal of the unit plans of hundreds of thousands of enterprises and business units, and it is a reflection of the activism by which hundreds of millions of laborers make history.

This social planning system should rely on the state planning commission as its core, using computers and terminals to connect the provincial and municipal planning commissions and the domestic and international points of the information network. By the same model, the provincial and municipal planning commissions should also connect the planning divisions of their enterprises into a planning information network. At the state planning commission and the provincial and municipal planning commissions there should be modern data storage and processing centers, which are capable of supplying at any time to the various constituent units the political and economic intelligence and the data on resources, market, commercial development and exchange situation from the several million enterprises in all 150 countries and regions of the world, so as to place the activities of all the constituent enterprises on the basis of absolutely reliable intelligence, to eliminate all the blindness in their economic activities to the greatest extent possible. This way, the planning information network is like a nervous system which enables the entire national economy to be constantly managed in the best manner possible.

At the data storage and processing centers of the various levels of the planning information network, there are stored data such as domestic and external economic intelligence, scientific and technological intelligence, trade information, production trends, letters from the masses, suggestions

from the cadres, etc. Planning personnel should analyze and systematize these rich data, and produce mathematical models, conduct simulation experiments and select suitable programs through comparison, formulate all kinds of forecasts and prognostic and retrospective inferences as conditions may permit respectively, and thereby design pertinent long-range plans and long-range forecasting plans (of these long-range forecasting plans there may be a further division between radical plans and conservative plans), middle-range plans (such as five-year plans), annual plans and contingency plans. They should also provide various forecasts on the economic situation.

Among these plans the most important are contingency plans that serve to readjust the dynamic balance of several hundred units at any moment's notice. On the basis of the forecasts on the economic situation, planning commissions at the various levels should point out to the various enterprises concerned the likely changes in the economic situation in the forthcoming months or forthcoming years, and also provide them with different kinds of suggestions and guidelines, if possible, formulated on the basis of the scientific and technological information and advanced management experience data they have on hand. On the basis of this series of reliable information, the enterprises, in turn, should carry out various timely readjustments and thereby increase, decrease, or divert their production or expand their facilities. Such readjustments should no longer be made only after problems have piled up into heaps and mounds.

After social plans are formulated, comments should be welcomed from the people, and the scholars and organizations should be welcomed to suggest revisions or to recommend the drafts thus formulated.

Social plans, of course, are without effects of a law or a directive; they depend entirely upon whether or not they correspond to realities and to people's interests in order to gain glad acceptance and application.

Social plans are entirely open. Planning organs at the various levels, apart from providing forecasts on the economic situation regularly to those concerned, should also publish various economic yearbooks, economic handbooks, handbooks on products indices, handbooks on prices, etc. They should welcome people to examine and inquire about the data they have on file, and use their reliable, accurate figures and materials to overcome the situation facing these enterprises at the present--a situation in which they often encounter difficulties in the fashion of a blind person riding on a blind horse along the edge of a deep pond in the middle of a dark night.

Planning organs at the various levels consist not of lofty bureaucrats sitting high above and issuing directives and commands, but of servants and staff advisers to the various enterprises who are poised to provide the most complete and best possible services to them. They should not only propose rough guidelines and programs to them, but should also help the geographically differently situated enterprises and business units to

make necessary links and reach agreement, in accordance with the best possible proportionate conditions relevant to each, so as to give concrete and tangible scope to the social plans involved. In this regard, their catalytic role is ten thousand times more powerful than that of commercial advertising under capitalism, as they act almost like the go-between who sees matters through to the very end.

Planning organs at the various levels should also formulate timely economic policies for selection by the party and the state. They should likewise help the state to employ various levies and taxes in order to balance and harmonize free development on the part of the various enterprises.

In the case of vegetable planting as an example, the municipal planning commission concerned should compile long-range weather forecasts and market trends, production trends and other such data, and thereby produce the mathematical models of certain forecasts and plans--to wit: in a certain month the weather was generally dry; in a certain month it was a slack season for vegetables; in a certain month there came how many tens of thousands of immigrants, what volume was accommodated by the market, how much should be planted in order to yield a profit, etc., etc. Figures of this sort and pertinent suggestions and indicators thereof should be timely provided to the vegetable producing teams at the basic level, which would in turn conduct their analyses and studies on the basis of such information data provided by the municipal planning commission and thereby formulate their best planting plans so as to achieve lucrative planting and furnish balanced supplies.

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THEORY, SYSTEM OF PLANNED ECONOMY DEPLORED

Beijing SIHUA LUNTAN [FOUR MODERNIZATIONS FORUM] in Chinese No 1, 15 Sep 79
pp 10-14

[Article by Cui Quanhong [1508 0356 4767]: "Planned Economy and Market Economy"]

[Text] In the past, people have always taken planned economy as the fundamental characteristic of socialism, and spoken of the theory and system of planned economy as the best possible, marked by this superiority and that superiority. Then, what has been the historical conclusion?

Let us first look at the manifestations. Many factories have year in and year out suspended their work and their production because of the interruption of the supply of electric power; many factories have maintained less than full operation because of a lack of sufficient raw materials; many products carry a high secondary cost because of an inveterate handling system that lasted tens of years without change; many enterprises have year in and year out suffered losses, wasted large amounts of manpower, talents and material resources because of poor management;... The various departments and units of the national economy have often failed for long periods of time to develop forward in proper proportion to one another. Some would say that this was a result of the interference and sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four"; but had the various departments and units developed forward in such good proportion to one another during the dozen and more years before then? Speaking in a very strict sense, there have always existed defects and disproportionate developments of the above-mentioned kind to different degrees, ever since we put planned economy into practice in our country. The anti-adventurism and "U-shape model" development of 1957; the high purchase and braggartism of 1959, when people died of hunger in some places, when the targeted amount of steel production was reduced four times (when the Beidaihe meeting fixed at 30 million tons, then the Wuchang meeting reduced it to 20 million tons, and then the Shanghai meeting again reduced it to 16 million tons at first, but in June 1959 once more reduced it to 13 million tons); the plight to rely only on meat and vegetables for food, causing anasarca among the people in 1960, and the widespread winding-up practice in 1961 when 20 million people returned to

the countryside. Although a series of close-downs, suspensions, mergers, and transfers were carried out, they were like applying ointment or some lotion on the planned economy, failing to cure its fundamental diseases--all of these have been cases of disproportionate development. After that, steel and iron production fell miserably without a chance to recover, wavering for 10 years and halting steps for another 5, while other departments and units, too, faltered in their advancement. During the 17 years since 1962, there has not been, as some have said, a turn for the better, but a continued series of disproportionate developments under which agriculture could not catch up with industry, the electric power industry could not catch up with the processing industry, the coal industry could not catch up with the electric power industry, the construction material industry could not catch up with capital construction, and in capital construction there existed also situations in which the operational capacity could not catch up with construction investment, designing could not catch up with operations, installation could not catch up with civil engineering work, etc., etc. Because of the rare increase in the fixed capital of the industries during those 10-plus years, large contingents of educated young people were driven to the mountains and to the countryside: this was a rare phenomenon in other countries of the world, indeed.

But, it was not only in our country that the situation was like this. In other countries where planned economy was in practice, there existed similar problems. The Soviet Union has practiced 60 years of planned economy, but in no year have we heard that the best proportionate all-round development was ever achieved, let alone the fact that there was the great crisis of the 1920's when many places were thrown into a situation in which there was a shortage of foodstuffs as well as coal, and people had to line up in long queues to wait for their turn to buy the necessities. In the 1960's and 1970's, grain production was reduced; several agriculture ministers planning commissions were replaced, but problems remained unsolved....

As these problems occurred, was it a case of "planned economy is basically a good system," or was it only insufficient efforts to carry it out on the part of the planning personnel which led to their rise.

Absolutely not. During these past scores of years, we have put stress each year on how to grasp a comprehensive balance and how to raise the quality of our planning, yet each year we have failed to achieve any balance. Each year we had to devote several months to meetings on planning, but as we readjusted each year, each year we failed to achieve any proportionate development. Sufficient reasons found at home and abroad during these scores of years illustrate that planned economy is a dead end, which exhibits insurmountable failings in many aspects.

Strictly speaking, the so-called planned economy is an economy which is arranged (planned) by people subjectively; it is a bureaucratist economy which is arranged by those above for those below; it is an idealist economy which deviates from reality. All cases of waste, low efficiency, blind

command, priority of the superior's will, violation of the law and disruption of discipline, bureaucratism, and braggartism can find their explanation from here.

1. Chairman Mao said: "There must be a process by which we recognize objective proportions between developing things," "and our recognition of objective laws cannot be perfectly achieved all at once. Practical work tells us: during a given period, there may be this kind of planning and that kind of planning, and there may also be this person's plan and that person's plan. It cannot be said that all such planning and such plans are in accord with those objective laws. There must be some plans which are, or are basically, in accord with the laws, and some plans which are not, or not basically, in accord with the laws" ("Notes on Political Economy"). Therefore, a concept of "the law of planning" cannot be established.

2. Chairman Mao said: "There is no born sage in this world. Nor, when we reach the socialist society, is it possible for everyone automatically to become informed and conscious of everything. In the process by which people understand things, everyone, in fact, is rather late in becoming informed and conscious. In terms of cognition, then, that planning tends to deviate from the incessantly changing economic realities is actually insurmountable, and a low and slow outcome can rarely be avoided when a straight jacket is imposed upon economic movements according to such subjective planning which deviates from those realities.

3. Modern industries are becoming more and more complex. The various raw materials needed, semi-products used, and final products produced number in the hundreds of thousands, and the various state-managed enterprises, local enterprises, collectively managed enterprises, and commune and production brigade enterprises and businesses likewise number in the hundreds of thousands. It is impossible for state plans to come up with individually pertinent calculations in respect to these hundreds of thousands of enterprises and hundreds of thousands of products in order to keep them in the best form of dynamic balance. For example, in the case of a certain type of blouse, the question as to which type of machine is best suited to its production and how much of such production would be most appropriate, is very hard to calculate very accurately. And in the whole economy, unknown factors and changeable factors are even more numerous; there exists always an unconquerable gap between the targets in the state plans and the realities of production. Targets of this kind are often without relevant economic rationality.

In reality, the enterprises that can really be included in state plans number only several tens of thousands, and the products that can be so included also number only several hundred today. Those that are accurately calculated are limited to several dozen, and most of the others have been subject only to rough estimates. The production value of all these make up only slightly more than half of those actually included in the plans. In the whole country, there exist also large numbers of extra-plan enterprises,

extra-plan production operations, and extra-plan circulation. Because state plans monopolized everything, endless difficulties were created for such extra-plan enterprises, which were forced to exchange goods for goods, to seek entry at the back door, and to dispatch persons with black briefcases under their arms to plead their cases everywhere and to make trouble for the planned economy from all sides. All this has added to the confusion in the national economy. Such production relations as have been engendered by the planned economy are thus fetters that constrain production. Lenin said, after having fully tasted the bitterness of planned economy, that "Complete, 'all-inclusive,' genuine plans = 'bureaucratist fancies.' Don't pursue such fancies" (The Complete Works of Lenin, Vol 35, 1959 edition, p 473).

4. New techniques, new crafts, and new products emerge without stop. Science and technology make rapid strides overnight. Economic situations change precipitously. No sooner does a given plan become completed with great difficulties than a new discovery or an overnight, sudden event would mess it up entirely. Yet state plans are necessarily rigid to a certain extent, and it is impossible for them to effect timely readjustments as to the prices and quantities of the various products. Even if such overall readjustment is made once a year, the gaps and loopholes must already prove innumerable. Hence, there emerge alongside the inevitable outcome of disproportionate development, material shortage, surprising forced stockpiling, and waste.

5. In the process of transmitting the plans downward from one to another level through the compiling of pertinent reports, many links have to be passed. Every time one more such link is passed, more time is required and accuracy becomes less, let alone the possibility of false reports and undercut reports by the various units. For technical reasons, the various figures cannot possibly be reported in strict precision. Plans of the state formulated on the basis of such unprecise figures are impossible to be precise themselves.

6. Because of the continued emergence of new techniques, new materials and new crafts, labor productivity and environment and such other pricing bases also continue to change; prices, therefore, should also continue to fluctuate alongside so as to make it possible to have the relationship between demands and supplies, the incomes and productive operations of the various enterprises, and the other such contradictions timely readjusted to the best condition feasible. But the fixed, rigid prices, on the other hand, hamper the desirable normal price movements, and thereby lead to the confusion of existing prices being generally far removed from actual values. Ordinarily, objective prices include society's certain proportionate demand on the products, and they should be capable of automatic readjustment as an intrinsic function on their part. But, the planned prices which are far removed from actual values are deprived of such a function and they thus become merely the symbols for price accounting. In the case of the electric power industry, for example, ordinarily the supplies are already very short, yet the price of electricity is never increased. This makes

the demanding side--the processing industry hardly feel any restraint in calculating its cost and its profits, and hence--continue to expand blindly, and the supplying side also hardly senses any stimulation in terms of profits gained and investment expected. The result is that the supplies of electric power become increasingly short year after year.

Because planned prices are far removed from actual values, an unfair situation also begins to prevail between buying and selling, with profits of the buying side transferred to the selling side or losses of the buying side transferred to the selling side. This results in a series of weaknesses and falsehoods in auditing, profit-calculation, reward-granting, and even in the state plans themselves as a whole. And this series of weaknesses and falsehoods in turn leads to a series of disproportionate developments and difficulties.

7. Planned economy in itself is, in fact, incompatible with market law, price law, the commanding position of profit, and the key role of money. For this reason, it has created many preposterous, irrational phenomena.

- 1) Many factories fail for long periods of time to produce goods that are suitable for consumption, so that they all end up doing money-losing business.
- 2) Many units simply disregard the matter of calculating for greater or lesser profit and hence pay no attention to whether or not they are producing the kind of products that would best earn profits for them. This makes it impossible for them to give full play to their own potentials and assets, and hence leads to endless waste.

For example, in Guangzhou the sugar cane harvest requires only 1.7 mu of land to produce 1 ton of sugar, but in the country as a whole, such harvest requires an average of more than 4.0 mu. According to the law of value, since planting sugar cane in Guangzhou would be most lucrative, such large-scale planting should of course be done in Guangzhou. Yet, according to planned economy, it would be necessary to uproot sugar cane to make way for the grain crop.

Again for example, in Liaoning only 38 carties of gross cotton can be harvested from 1 mu of land, on average, which is about one-quarter of that which can be harvested in certain high-yield regions. According to the law of the market, cotton should not be planted in Liaoning. Yet, according to planned economy, there are many communes and production brigades in Liaoning that choose to plant cotton, thus spending the same amount of time and material but obtaining only one-quarter of the economic income possible elsewhere.

- 3) In Zhejiang there are many small paper mills that squeeze out big ones in the use of raw materials. This results in making the big mills operate on only 50 percent of their capacities while the quality of the paper produced at the small ones proves to be inferior. There thus appears an abnormal phenomenon of small fish swallowing up big fish.

4) Light and textile industries make the most money. According to the principle of putting profit in command, light and textile industries should deserve the greatest possible development. Yet, according to planned economy, they have no opportunity to develop because, in the 10-odd consecutive years investment in these industries amounted to a mere 2 percent of the nation's total. On the other hand, certain factories that were most notorious in losing money were given opportunities time and again to develop exuberantly.

8. In order to carry out planned economy, it is inevitable for the practitioners to resort to "strips and patches" of localized administrative jurisdictions and thereby create man-made feudal kingdoms out of them, thus sabotaging socialized overall coordination in production. The many "big and complete, but small also complete" units have emerged precisely from such pernicious effects of the planned economy's crippled structure.

In a word, practices at home and abroad have already smashed the legends about how wonderful planned economy is.

Take East Germany and West Germany for example. East Germany practices planned economy, and West Germany practices market economy. Conditions in both East Germany and West Germany at the conclusion of the war were wholly similar. But 30 years later, the purchasing power of a West German worker has reached three times that of an East German worker. What a horrifying contrast! Between similar peoples, similar climates and resource conditions, and similar bases of development, there has emerged such a big difference in efficiency. Still more examples of this sort can be easily given. We most certainly cannot say that a West German worker has been doing three times as much work as that of an East German worker. No serious materialist can remain unmoved before such iron-clad facts.

Some would trot out the Soviet Union and our country as examples in order to explain how much faster a planned economy may develop. But we must know that this faster speed is by no means in proportion to the gigantic efforts exacted from the government and the people. This faster speed has not been achieved because of how wonderful the management was, but it resulted mainly from the high capital cumulation that was made possible by low wages. Take our country and Japan for example: when similar equipment is used in the production of similar products, our wage cost is only a fraction of that of Japan, whereas our resultant rate of capital cumulation is several dozen times that of Japan accordingly. Under such circumstances, the growth rate that can be achieved should also have been several dozen times that of Japan. Japan has scored a yearly economic growth rate of 15.7 percent; by this rubric, if our country had practiced a market economy like that of Japan, it should have been possible for us to score a yearly growth rate of 150 percent in our economy. But, regrettably, the historical fact is that there was only a 6 percent yearly growth rate. In 1957, the gap between our country and Japan was not yet very big; but today we are several times behind. Practice has thus proved that it was not planned

economy that made our economy develop faster. On the contrary, it was precisely this ailments-ridden system of planned economy which weakened the preponderance of our low-wage and high-cumulation situation and which helped squander our considerable objective productive capabilities.

Under the system of the market economy, Japan's various enterprises have enjoyed complete management autonomy and completely followed the principle of putting profit in command and relying on money as the key link. It has been possible for the enterprises to adopt all possible measures to achieve the most rational management according to the law of value and the rules of the market. This was why their efficiency was very high. Because the law of value plays the role of automatically readjusting the relevant proportions into a balanced situation in the economy, Japan's various productive enterprises have for long periods of time been able to maintain proportionate development at a high speed. These enterprises all pursued their production in an even way according to the orders they received on the basis of agreements; they neither tried to produce less and postpone the date of delivery, nor attempted blindly to produce more and thereby cause forced stockpiling. Nor, in general, would there by such occurrences as work-stoppage, waiting for materials, and dislocation between production and sales. The various big commercial outfits also usually have their worldwide information networks. For example, it is possible for Mitsui & Co, Ltd of Japan to gather worldwide commercial intelligence within 5 minutes. The company also carries out monthly readjustments regularly in order to do its best in adapting its plans to the needs of the users and the market--that is to say, to achieve its own proportionate development. But in our country dislocation often occurs between what is above and what is below in our planning, and dislocation also often occurs between production and sales, with the end result of either facing a shortage or having too much on hand. If we wish to thoroughly change this situation, it will be necessary for us to practice the market economy. Japan's shortcomings do not lie in its market economy but mainly in the private ownership system and the exploitation and oppression and social confrontation that result from that system. Our country's situation is fine, but not because we have planned economy; it is rather because we have a public ownership system and an absence of exploitation and oppression. Of course, Japan's market economy is still troubled by many ailments; the best system remains to be created by us. We cannot get bogged down on the level of the 1950's, and we must, in practice and in theory, have important breakthroughs. Only important breakthroughs will bring important development.

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SOCIAL OWNERSHIP SYSTEM ADVOCATED

Beijing SIHUA LUNTAN [FOUR MODERNIZATIONS FORUM] in Chinese No 1, 15 Sep 79
pp 14-18

[Article by Cui Quanhong [1508 0356 4767]: "State Ownership System and Social Ownership System--A Basic Question in Scientific Socialism Today"]

[Text] What is the basic characteristic of the socialist economic structure?

A run-of-the-mill answer appears to be: nationalization of the means of production--the state ownership system. The production relations under the state ownership system are no other than the production relations of socialism. Is this view, largely taken as an axiom and common knowledge, really correct?

No! This view of equating the form of the state ownership system with the socialist mode of production is entirely erroneous. It is precisely the theoretical basis on which social imperialism covers up its capitalist essence. It is imperative that we clearly understand this question which concerns whether a given socialism is true or false.

Let us first look at the manifestations:

On the basis of this theory, not only revisionist states such as the Soviet Union, where the state-managed economy occupies a ruling position, hold themselves up as examples of so-called "developed socialism," but even countries like India and Egypt, where the national bourgeoisie is in power also declare themselves to be practicing "socialism" because of their nationalization measures. The ilk of Hitler, too, resorted to nationalization; was not their fascist system also called "national socialism"? Especially after World War II, the several principal capitalist countries all quickly started to develop their state-managed economies. First of all, Britain nationalized the Bank of England, domestic navigation, railways, coal mining, petroleum, ferrous metallurgy, electric power and industries of the like in a series of steps apart from the military industries. Other capitalist countries also struggled to catch up with, and surpass, Britain.

France and Germany worked with the greatest speed. By 1970, nationalized enterprises had already made up 35 percent of the total amount of France's fixed capital; there have also been many increases in recent years and, insofar as the industrial areas are concerned, the expansion has developed generally from the more backward, low-profit departments and units toward the most advanced, high-profit realms. France's Petroleum Exploration and Development Company and Italy's State Hydrocarbon Company are enterprises which forbid private investment and which are fully financed by the state. Apart from these, there have appeared also many cases of nationalization in the Third World countries such as Mexico, Burma, Algeria, Tanzania, Venezuela, etc. These are cases which are indicative neither of "a helping hand" to private capital, nor of a peaceful development of capitalism into socialism; they are, instead, a sign of the noteworthy development of capitalism of the state-monopoly variety at this juncture. These cases clearly demonstrate to us that the state ownership system is not the basic characteristic of the production relations under socialism; it is, instead, the form that is bound to emerge at the last stage of capitalist development under the law of the on-going capital socialization movement. (Reference in this regard is omitted here.) Just as Lenin said, it is a stage through which both capitalism of the state-monopoly variety and socialism must pass. Engels said: "Whether transformed into a shareholding company or transformed into state property, the means of production do not constitute a capital that eliminates productive power"; it is improper to take "state ownership of the means of production" as "the solution of conflict" ("Anti-Duhring"). Under the state ownership of the means of production, there still exist the separation and confrontation between capital and labor. Let us take its model, the Soviet Union, for an analysis here.

In the Soviet Union, workers do not have the right to own means of production; they remain hired laborers.

Why is this the case? Has not the Soviet Union declared that its state was "a proletarian dictatorship of the state of all the people," and that the people had long become masters of their own country? Why do we say, then, that workers in the Soviet Union do not have the right to own the means of production?

This requires us to examine nominal ownership and actual ownership. Whether or not workers have actual ownership is the fundamental difference between socialism and state-monopoly capitalism. Revisionism is precisely using nominal ownership to cover up the actuality of its exploitation and oppression here. It uses banners such as "Marxism-Leninism," "Communist Party," "developed socialism," etc., to cover up its capitalist essence so as to make it not so self-evident as private capital. Therefore, to understand clearly how the workers can be said to enjoy actual ownership becomes now the important question of understanding clearly what is true Marxism-Leninism and what is false Marxism-Leninism.

In a class society, the earliest right to own things was namely the right to control those things. When these things belonged to me, that would be to say that I could, according to my own will, give them to others, sell

them, use them, or shut them down. If gentleman "A" declared "You are the owner of a certain thing," yet you found yourself unable to dispose of that thing according to your own will but only that gentleman "A" could do so, and you, in turn, could not bother him about how he was going to dispose of it: then, anyone with the slightest common knowledge would realize that your ownership was nominal, and only gentleman "A" enjoyed actual ownership.

Along with the development of capitalism, there appeared the increasingly clearer distinction between the right to own and the right to dispose. When a capitalist hires managerial personnel to carry out the function of "personalizing capital," his own ownership is protected through supervision. The right to supervise includes direction, inspection, appointment and dismissal, and the most important among these is especially the right to appoint and to dismiss. This right to supervision, as a bourgeois right, must be carried out by the executioners of the bourgeois state--it absolutely does not depend on the "conscience" or "self-awareness" on the part of the managerial personnel. If the state does not grant him protection, the capitalist's right to supervision will be nil. If the capitalist cannot bother about the affairs of his enterprise, nor dismiss the managerial personnel not in accord with his own will, i.e., if he loses his right to supervision, then the manager will be in the position to turn the factory into his own property, and the ownership would thus change according to the change of the right to disposal.

While under the conditions of socialism it is theoretically as well as constitutionally prescribed that the masses of the people are the masters of the state, and that they all enjoy the right to own the means of production equally, but the masses of the people cannot directly dispose of the means of production; it is necessary for the people to do so through the cadres as their representatives. Therefore, the right to own and the right to dispose on the part of the masses of the people begin to become separated from each other to different degrees, and such separation often becomes also the important root cause engendering problems in the power-holding stratum. In order to enable the cadres to loyally dispose of the means of production in accordance with the will of the laboring people, it is necessary to strengthen the supervision by the state and the people. The political reflection of this supervision is no other than socialist democracy and its legal system. If socialist democracy and its legal system are not weighty enough or healthy enough, then, just as Chairman Mao said, "a change toward revisionism is possible at any time." The Soviet Union, Cuba, Vietnam, Albania...all prove this point.

In the Soviet Union, which has turned revisionist, the right to dispose of the means of production is controlled by those few people in the Political Bureau and State Planning Commission, who in fact, are carrying out a highly centralized bureaucratic economic system. Under such circumstances the bureaucratic, monopolist class of the state exercises its right to supervision over every functioning capitalist through the party, the administration, the judicial organs, and the banks, allowing no one to change the property of the whole bureaucratic capitalist class into property of his

own. As for the working class, it has no right whatsoever to look into the important political and economic affairs of the state and the enterprises, enjoying neither the right to disposal, nor the right to supervision; they are found in a position of bowing-down and obeying arrangements by their superiors in everything. Where, under such circumstances, can their ownership be reflected? Since the heads of the party, the state and the enterprises keep everything under their control and abuse and oppress the workers, what reason is there for us to believe their declaration on being "public servants of society," and not to take them, instead, directly as capitalists? Since capitalist social relations still exist, what other reason is there for us to still believe in their "developed socialism" signboard, and not take it, instead, actually as state-monopolist, bureaucratic capitalism? It may be pointed out here as a matter of convenience that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were precisely China's bureaucratic monopolist capitalist class; what they intended to restore was precisely this kind of state bureaucratic monopolist capitalism, and not the kind of private capitalism before liberation. Giving full play to democracy, separation of powers, and opposition to state-monopolist capitalism constitutes a trend which has become the new mark of the class struggle in a new era.

In the Soviet Union, there exists a gap of over 100 times between the highest and the lowest wage; this is still better compared to capitalism under which such gap amounts to over 10,000 times. Chairman Mao said: Capitalist confrontation and conflict "cannot be solved by the capitalist system itself," but socialist contradictions "can be continually solved through the socialist system itself" (Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Vol V, p 373).

1. Under the state ownership system, it is absolutely impossible for the workers to feel that they are masters of the country and the enterprises, and it is therefore likewise impossible for them to bring their enthusiasm as masters into full play. However they may be stimulated or oppressed, they find themselves hardly in the mood to exert themselves.
2. Under the state ownership system, the cadres are appointed according to the practice of assigning jobs on the basis of their ranks by the state. Once a cadre arrives at a unit, he takes that unit as if it were his fief granted by the state, and he treats the masses there as if they were his subjects. Since insofar as leadership for the enterprises is concerned the masses neither have the right to elect, to recall, to supervise, or to prosecute, nor, insofar as affairs of those enterprises are concerned, the right to express their opinions, the workers actually can neither be masters of their own house nor make decisions. Therefore, many factories are found in a topsy-turvy condition.
3. The upper structure erected upon the state ownership system happens to be politically very dictatorial; it monopolizes society's entire political and economic life to a very high degree, and it exercises close control over each citizen in many aspects. Because of a lack of democracy, the erroneous line, mistaken policy, and blind direction pursued by the upper structure and leading organs are allowed to prolong their evil practice without facing criticism and correction; they thus result in many

inveterate, ill practices in administration. At the same time, the many good ideas, good approaches, good theories and good policies the people may have in their minds cannot find expression or a chance to be carried out. From both angles, therefore, erroneous ideas and mistaken policies are allowed for long periods of time to control the social forces and to seriously sabotage and stymie social progress.

4. The State Planning Commission pursues its planning often to trivial details, taking an enterprise as an abacus whose beads it is supposed to be free to shift with its fingers at random. It often excessively stresses the subordinate position of an enterprise in relation to its superior level personnel, fully demonstrating the lack of confidence in the lower level personnel and in the enterprise itself. This serves to reduce the direct producers to the position of components and implements of bureaucratic organs, and hence to restrict the enthusiasm and activism of the enterprise and the workers. This also leads to objective waste of productive power to a considerable extent.

5. A big stack of bureaucratic organs thus doggedly insist on tying up the hands and legs of the enterprises, and the planned prices and planned targets fixed by the central authorities thus all tend to have only negative effects on production and circulation....

6. "This kind of monopoly, like any other monopoly, is bound to cause a trend of stagnation and corruption. Since a monopolist price is already fixed, then technical progress, which is perforce the motive cause of other kinds of progress and forward movement, is lost to a certain degree; and in the economy, too, a man-made obstacle is thus placed in the way of such technical progress." The phenomena of stagnation and corruption under the state ownership system of a high degree of monopoly are often much worse than what Lenin spoke of here, especially in the obstruction of technical progress.

To sum up, we cannot take the state ownership system as the ideal form of the socialist economy.

Only by letting the mainstay of the social productive forces, the laborers who are engaged in cooperative labor, possess and control the means of production directly would it be possible for us to find a fundamental solution to the separation and confrontation between capital and labor and thereby bring the social character of modern productive forces into full play. This requires us to re-develop the state ownership system into a social ownership system.

Utopian socialists have come up with all kinds of utopias, but the founder of Marxism proposed only an association of free men. Duhring devised an "economic commune," which was firmly refuted by Engels, and, in the practice of the subsequent communist movements there appeared forms like the state ownership system, collective ownership system, and social ownership system. From the reform movements that have taken place in the various countries, the social ownership system appears to be obviously full of vitality.

According to Marxist theory and socialist practice, the so-called social ownership system is one by which "the association of free men makes use of public means of production to carry out their labor, and puts to use its many individual laboring forces as a single social laboring force." The production relations of this social ownership system should include the following aspects:

1. The means of production belong to society; no single individual is allowed to own them by himself.
2. The laborers are directly united with the means of production; the workers directly control the means of production entrusted to them by society. Each laborer has both the right and the responsibility to express his opinion on the distribution, management and use of the means of production, first, of their own collectivity and, then, of society as a whole, and to carry out the collectively passed resolutions. Therefore, this approach is both collective and yet individual, and it is here that social interests and individual interests find their perfect union.
3. In the association of free men, every employee and worker enjoys the same rights and undertakes the same duties; they are all placed in an entirely equal position, relying on a social contract to harmonize various relationships among them.

The sure manifestation of the social ownership system is that it is not only a state ownership system, but also a collective as well as an individual ownership system. The laboring collectivity does not alone possess the means of production that it uses; it uses them only as entrusted by society to carry out production by paying a periodic interest.

Coupled with the upper structure of the social ownership system is the democratization of politics. Laborers would determine all affairs concerning production by their enterprise as perfect masters. In accordance with the democratic principles of the Paris Commune, laborers would elect their most trusted, their best, and their most talented persons to the leadership posts so as to realize the idealization of the leadership stratum. The various enterprises should be able to carry out rational management in accordance with the best programs and best decisions that have gathered the wisdom of the whole body of the laborers through the most extensive practice of democracy. Under the close supervision of several thousand pairs of eyes and several thousand mouths, the enterprises should be able to eliminate the waste and dislocations at each link and in every corner in their budding state, and thereby enable production activities to develop in the greatest possible harmony with social conditions and market conditions.

Free romance can result in happy marriage; free labor can also make good use of, and bring into full play an individual's natural endowment, specialty and interest. The social ownership system is namely "an entity which

aims at everyone's free development on condition of each individual's free development" ("The Communist Manifesto"). "Through social production, not only is there the possibility of guaranteeing to all members their abundant, continually improving material conditions for life, but there is likewise the possibility of guaranteeing to them that their physical and mental talents will gain free development and application," so that, in the end, everybody can exert himself to the fullest extent of his capability and do all he can and thereby create a rate of labor productivity that is far superior to the one prevailing today.

This social ownership system, therefore, is the ideal form of economy for socialism at the present stage; compared to the state ownership system, it has many incomparably good points. During our present period of readjustment and reform, we should begin with an expansion of the autonomy of the enterprises and strengthen our work in turning the state ownership system into the social ownership system. This is the important content of our economic reform and institutional reform.

Under the propulsion of institutional reform, our economy will gain a high degree of development, and our people's political power will become unprecedentedly more consolidated.

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PETITIONER BLASTS PARTY LEADERS FOR IGNORING INJUSTICES

Beijing TANSUO [EXPLORATION] in Chinese No 5, 1 Oct 79 pp 25-32

[Article by Sima Yu [0674 7456 5341]: "My Poster Addressed to Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping"]

[Text] The radio broadcasts and the PEOPLE'S DAILY have made headlines of the cases of miscarriage of justice which you two gentlemen have been redressing for 2 years. Their publicity drive has made the matter widely known both in China and abroad. But what has actually happened is that the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists have been rehabilitated and given jobs. The capitalists have received back their confiscated property, and injustice suffered by the bureaucrats has been redressed. Even the problems of those not in powerful positions but with secret pull are also resolved. The most pitiful thing is that while few cases of injustice sustained by the common people have been redressed, new cases of injustice and trumped-up charges have cropped up.

Helpless and caught in desperate straits, the only option left to the masses is to exercise the "constitutional" rights of the citizens to demonstrate, to petition, to write big-character posters, to present petitions at Zhongnanhai and stop your automobiles to air grievances. Even these "constitutional" rights are by no means real and have run into bloody suppression by the Beijing Public Security Bureau. Their last resort is the Democracy Wall at Xidan, a political trap, where big-characterposters, not too distasteful to the party and top leadership of the country, are permitted under the watchful eyes of special agents.

In appearance at least, nobody can complain that democracy is non-existent in China. The fact that no big-character posters have been written about the top leaders of the party of the country has been construed to mean that these leaders are wise and faultless, the country is peaceful and the people contented.

Are these actually true? No! The patience of the masses has dried up like dehydrated fire wood. Cries of discontent are heard everywhere. The reason why nobody has yet written any big-character posters to both Chairman

Hua and Vice Premier Deng is not that they approve of you two completely. On the contrary, they regard you as those who profess to love dragons but are afraid of them, "General Ye's love of dragons," as the saying goes.

Democracy in China is "a democracy under bayonets," and unity means unity and stability under duress. The masses are simply forced to hold back their rage and choke with silent fury. Comrade Mao Zedong once said: "The country is our country. The society is our society. If we don't speak out, who would? If we don't do it, who would?" There is an old saying: "The destiny of a country rests on the shoulders of every individual." In ancient times a man by the name of Sima Yu accused the Jade Emperor, the Vesper and both the heaven and earth of 10 capital crimes when he had difficulties redressing the injustice inflicted on his brother. Why can't we, the mass of petitioners, write both of you a big-character poster?

Item One: Who is kicking the ball?

Both of you have been redressing cases of injustice for 2 years, making telephone calls and issuing directives to ask the leadership at various levels to tackle the cases personally instead of "kicking the ball." The leaders of the provinces and municipalities had been called to Beijing to take back the petitioners and settle their complaints locally. May I ask how many petitioners (the common people, not the bureaucrats) have you two received personally? Now let me tell Chairman Hua the case of a petitioner.

In the afternoon of 22 August 1976, Yang Manchang from Hebei Province carried high a piece of white cloth on which he wrote a huge character "injustice." Kneeling down in the middle of the road, he watched the police hand to you his written petition. Then he said to himself, since you had accepted his petition personally, his grievances would no doubt be redressed very promptly. It is extremely regrettable that you did not do anything for him. On the contrary, the East Beijing branch of the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau arrested and repatriated him back to his original place of residence, where he was adjudged a counter-revolutionary element.

Being the top leaders of the party and the country, you two gentlemen not only refused to redress the grievances of Yang Manchang, who had stopped your car to submit his petition, but also subjected him to more injustice. This tells us that since you are not as upright as "Lord Bao" and "Kuang Zhong" of the feudal times, you have no right to blame the lower level leaders for "kicking the ball."

Two years of violent "matches" show that the "soccer field" is not the province, city or county, but the central government, and Chairman Hua is the "champion" and Vice Premier Deng the "runner-up."

Item Two: What is meant by "fairness and reasonableness"?

You two have issued precise directives on the problem of cadres, on the rehabilitation of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists and on the restitution of property to the capitalists. As for us the common folks, you two have not issued anything. Instead, Chairman Hua called for "fairness and reasonableness." Frankly speaking, "seeking truth from facts" and "fairness and reasonableness" are simply "leadership of murkiness."

It is widely known in China and abroad, our system of government is political centralism. Nationwide problems such as workers going to work without relinquishing job positions, reassignment of jobs to enlisted men, giving fulltime jobs to contract and temporary workers as well as interchange of residents between rural and urban regions just cannot be resolved by the provincial, regional and county level authorities without your approval and directives from the Central Committee. The interviewers have even less authority to cope with such problems and know very little about "seeking truth from facts" and "fairness and reasonableness." Having no authority to handle the problems mentioned above, they fear they would be misunderstood by the petitioners if they did not resolve their problems. Thus, they are caught between the devil and the deep sea.

The rehabilitated cadres have gotten back their jobs. But the reimbursement of wages and food rations due us workers, peasants, old Red Army men and enlisted men transferred to civilian positions has been denied on the ground of state financial difficulties. Is it fair and reasonable to return millions of yuan of confiscated property to the capitalists while tens of thousands of youths are unemployed? Why is it so easy to rehabilitate the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and the rightists and so difficult to clear us politically? We find it hard to understand why tens of thousands of youths are discharged and sent to the countryside, and city dwellers and peasants had to beg like gypsies while the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists are provided with the means of livelihood and jobs if they are physically fit to work. Is this the way "to seek truth from facts" and "to be fair and reasonable?" You ask us to exercise restraint for the sake of national interests. We know you are afraid if we demonstrate and discredit socialism, the Chinese and the people of other countries would doubt your competence. You want us to have patience and remember that Rome was not built in a day. Yet everything is still a mess after 2 years of agony. As a matter of fact, our problems are getting more complicated, contradictions more intensified and more people are suffering unjustly.

Mr Chairman Hua, when you took charge, Chairman Mao felt reassured, and the people of China feel even more reassured. But Chairman Mao of the Chinese Communist Party who had led the Chinese people's revolution did not mean to remove the labels put on the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists and put them on us. Nor did he mean to restore the confiscated property of the capitalists. Our

revolutionary martyrs did not shed their blood to make us jobless and homeless. If they did, what good would the Four Modernizations do us? Wouldn't they be even more frightening?

Item Three: Whose fault is it?

Many cases of injustice, trumped-up charges and miscarriages of justice were perpetrated when the "four evil creatures" were in power. After the downfall of the "gang of four," due to their remaining pernicious influence and the collusion among the bureaucrats, there is still no way to redress our grievances. But the PEOPLE'S DAILY and radio broadcasts have blown the rehabilitation of this and redress of that so much out of proportion that the common people take them to be true. So they sold their possessions, left behind their beloved ones and some even took with them their young children and set out on a long and arduous journey to Beijing, believing they would fare better with more "honest" officials at the nation's capital. Few of those had any idea that newspaper and radio broadcast propaganda and realities are completely different. In fact, the authorities from the CCP Central Committee down to the grassroot level simply did not intend to resolve the problems of the common people. When we realized the drive to redress injustice is only for the benefit of the bureaucrats, landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, rightists and capitalists, we were disappointed and frustrated. If we had stayed home, the injustice we suffer might not have been so intolerable as what we now face in Beijing. Our appeal to the central authorities had offended those we accuse so much that they wish they had liquidated us all in the first place. It so happened that while they were looking for an opportunity to get back at us, the Central Committee's office for receiving petitioners remanded our complaints back to them as we ourselves were sent back by the reception office. Seizing upon this godsent opportunity, our defendants churned us through criticisms and struggles before we were adjudged counter-revolutionaries. Very often our relatives were implicated.

Left without recourse at home, we returned to Beijing. But the longer we stay the more intense and complicated are our contradictions and problems. At first our petitions covered mostly a single issue. Then as our complaints multiplied, some petitions actually expanded to the size of a book, containing over 100,000 characters each petition. If we quit and went home, we would be adjudged counter-revolutionaries, and our relatives are still in prisons. Having no way to back down, our only option is to stay in Beijing without petitioning.

"To stay in Beijing without petitioning" is a term written in blood and tears to describe the reality of our lives. Even though the term does not exist in any dictionary, it explains why more than 100,000 petitioners are still in Beijing.

As we need food to sustain our "stay in Beijing without petitioning," we are compelled by force of circumstances to commit a number of crimes in order to make a living.

First, those who have some money and do not want to let it go down the drain find it advisable "to quit petitioning and getting into business." This is responsible for the famous "drinking glass cosy" case of Beijing. To make a living and be self-supporting, we made "drinking glass cosies" for sale. The government, however, charged us with the crime of speculation and profiteering.

Second, some of us turned to begging because they have neither money nor food rations. We have found out to our chagrin that refugees are not entitled even to beg for a bowl of rice. The government considers this "damaging to the good image of socialism." Those begging are arrested by the police wherever they are found. What a socialism this is, probably there is not one like it in the whole world!

Third, denied the right either to make drinking glass cosies or to beg for food, some took up burglary and robbery while others resorted to the world's oldest profession. When hooligans and criminal elements began to infiltrate the ranks of the petitioners, the Beijing Public Security Bureau believed it had a plausible cause to crack down on the petitioners. Claiming to check the activities of bad elements, the police arrested the petitioners amidst their recurrent raiding and mopping up operations. Faincied and frightened, we wonder whether we are in Beijing to air our grievances or run away from horrible calamities.

Fourth, when our problems become more complicated and contradiction more intense and when we find our families completely ruined, we begin to complain, speak in anger and write big-character posters. These are to be expected.

As a matter of fact, complaints and big-character posters are not meant to sing the praises of anybody. They are bound to expose the seamy side of society. But one who writes posters is not necessarily disillusioned with society as a whole. By the same token, one's opposition to a particular leader should not be construed as his opposition to the whole Communist Party. Can we say that one who exposes the seamy side of society is more to blame than those who have brought it about?

By the way, this reminds me of Comrade Xi Zhongxun's story of Chairman Mao. One day when Chairman Mao was attending a meeting in the district assembly hall in the Shannxi-Gansu-Ningxia border region, a county magistrate was killed by a thunderbolt. Later, Chairman Mao overheard a peasant saying: "Why didn't the thunderbolt kill Chairman Mao?" Someone suggested arresting the man and punishing him, but the chairman did not want to do that. Instead, he went to the masses to investigate the real cause of the incident. When he found out that the masses were not too happy with the heavy grain levy, he immediately ordered a reduction of the new grain levy and used the incident to educate the cadres.

Now you are doing things differently. We have suffered inhuman persecution in our localities and have come to Beijing to air our grievances, hoping

to win your help to redress the injustice. What a shock it is to discover that our exposure of the malpractice of our local leadership has become evidence to incriminate us.

Sun Fengxia, who disclosed that the Tianjin Textile Factory where he worked had acquired a Daqing type of enterprise through bribery and personal pull, was brutally attacked by the factory leadership which accused him of numerous trumped-up offenses. Unwilling to back down under pressure, Sun appealed to a higher authority. Instead of disciplining the factory, the Tianjin CCP Municipal Committee colluded with it to persecute Sun, subjecting him to cruel punishment. When Sun again appealed to a still higher authority, those beastly creatures secured from a hospital a statement to prove Sun's insanity, which deprived him the right of appeal.

Now, if we describe the "gang of four" as a factory which manufactured labels to incriminate people and had gone bankrupt, you have started your labeling factory to replace it. The "Six-article Circular" of the Beijing municipality is a good inventory of criminal labels, although the municipal government is only your marketing agent. There are more criminal labels listed in "circulars" of the various provincial, county and city authorities. It is hard to understand why a person as upright and honest as Sun Fengxia should be adjudged a law-breaker. Are we going to say that the disclosure of a crime is graver than its perpetration?

Item Four: The same medicine prepared differently.

There are three reasons why the problems have remained unresolved for so long.

- (1) First of all, Chairman Hua and Vice Chairman Deng have not personally tackled the problems. If you yourselves have not done so, how can you order the leaders at the lower levels to tackle them personally?
- (2) The CCP Central Committee has not made its position clear with regard to important national problems, and the authorities at the provincial, municipal and county levels are powerless to act independently.
- (3) The lack of any definite policy is due to the fact that those responsible to investigate the petitions are "senior statesmen of three dynasties," influential personages of the era of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Can you expect them to turn against the "gang of four"? Since they do not see anything wrong had happened, how can we expect them to redress our grievances? As victims of persecution and injustice, we want to bring our sufferings to the attention of our sympathizers. Unfortunately, they are not interested and have no stomach for any of our complaints.

Zhao Xinrong f county, Sichuan, appeared on last 15 August at 5:40 pm in front of the Ministry of Public Security and begged in tears to speak to one of its interviewers. These so-called "public servants" manhandled him and threw him out. Infuriated, Zhao Xinrong took poison to kill himself. It was only after all the petitioners had expressed their irrepressible indignation that the Ministry of Public Security took emergency measures to save his life.

Dear Chairman Hua and Commander Deng, why don't you let such old cadres like Peng Zhen run the high court, the procuratorate and office of discipline? Only those who were once the victims of persecution and unjust imprisonment are fit to redress our grievances.

In reality we need people like Tao Siliang and Tao Xiaoyung. That is to say, we want the children of such senior revolutionaries as Commander Chen and Commander Ho to redress our grievances, because they themselves were once petitioners and know how the party's policies are implemented. Frankly speaking, it is unrealistic to expect the policy of redressing injustice to be equitably implemented unless we, the victims of miscarriage of justice, can participate in the proceedings.

Item Five: The law and conscience.

At first we all had full confidence in the party, the people's government, Chairman Hua and Vice Chairman Deng. That is why we sold our possessions and left our parents, wives and children to come to Beijing to air our grievances. We did not have the faintest idea that newspaper and radio broadcast propaganda and the actual solution of our problems are entirely different. The way they tried to resolve our problem was to induce us to get to Beijing to air our grievances. When the Beijing authorities realized they were unable to cope with the situation, they resorted to coaxing, stalling and suppression.

"Coaxing!" When we got to Beijing, the interviewers who received us wrote down what we told them. Instead of expressing their opinions, they made a notation on the back of the introductory letter given to each petitioner: "This is to introduce xxx to you for an interview." We call these letters "bull shit," cheaper than a piece of toilet paper. "Stalling!" We know the introductory letters would not help us much if we brought them back home. Yet they refuse to contact the local authorities concerned to work out a solution as we requested. When we decide to remain in Beijing, they begin to apply their stalling tactics, hoping that we would leave after spending all the money we have.

"Suppression!" After having tried all the measures mentioned above, the next step is suppression if the petitioners still refuse to leave Beijing. The interviewers usually tell the petitioners that they are petty officials and do not have the authority to resolve the problems of the petitioners. But they have the full backing of CCP Central Committee when it comes the detention and repatriation of petitioners, and their words are marked by the local officials as "royal mandates." They actually have full authority to prosecute the petitioners. Those who have been through detention and repatriation always feel cold shivers down their spines when they recall the experience.

A woman by the name of Zhang Zhicui from Daqing is a native of Hunan. Her husband had been falsely accused and adjudged a counter-revolutionary. The whole family was thus sent back to Hunan. She came to Beijing with her children 25 times in 8 years to seek redress without any success.

She and her children were once detained for more than a year in the Kuo-mintang No 2 prison, which has been renamed Gongdelin by the communists. Due to the hardship they suffered in the detention center, her second boy has become distraught and her third boy crippled.

Seeking to redress years of injustice, Comrade Liu, an air force political officer at Lanzhou, had visited Lanzhou and Beijing many times to air his grievances, and had been placed in detention centers 65 times in Lanzhou and 55 times in Beijing. Good heavens! Is this the law of the land?

You people always sing the praises of dead heroes and their sufferings. True, they have sacrificed valiantly for the party and the people, and we should learn from their heroic deeds. But why don't we study the sufferings of the living? We, as petitioners, have been begging in rain and sleeping on wet and muddy ground. If you think you are the children of your parents, so are we. All of us are the flesh and blood of our parents, and yet we are forced to lie down in rain with nothing to keep us dry as the doors of two-thirds of the reception centers of the CCP Central Committee are closed.

Mr Chairman, Mr Premier, you two are the top leaders of the party and the country. Don't you feel sorry for us?

Don't you feel guilty when you see your old comrades-in-arms, wearing the medals and decorations which you had given them, come to Beijing to air their grievances, beg for food during the daytime and sleep in public lavatories at night?

Item Six: Are you "honest" or "fatuous" officials?

Vice Chairman Deng is the most prominent victim of persecution in the whole country. He is the one who truly understands how we petitioners feel. He is our "captain," our confidant, our "blue sky." That represented our innermost thought, and we used to talk about it all the time. But that is no longer true and does not command our admiration any more because you have forgotten us.

Last 29 March, early in the morning, the policemen of the precinct by the old palace tried to arrest a young girl for selling drinking glass cosies. Frightened, the girl jumped into the river near Tiananmen to drown herself. When a sailor got her out of the river, she was dead and it was too late to save her.

Last May a petitioner was beaten to death at the Binhe Fanguan near the Yungdinmen railroad station by the waiters and a traffic policeman. On the 27th of last May a petitioner was beaten to death by restaurant waiters and police because he was begging for food.

Li Xinrong of Sichuan took poison to kill herself on 15 August at 4:00 pm because the interviewers of the Ministry of Public Security had refused to receive her, although she was rescued later.

Nobody really knows how many petitioners have been beaten to death, committed suicide, died of hunger and frostbite. Can you honestly say you know nothing about all these incidents? If so, you as a government official simply have not done anything for the people and are not concerned about their sufferings. What on earth are you, an "honest" or "fatuous" official?

It is said you have run into opposition and pressure because you had spoken out on our behalf, and you are afraid to say anything more in favor of the petitioners. We don't think you can deny this. Without the approval of Chairman Hua and you yourself, the Beijing municipal government would not dare issue the "Six-article Circular," a major weapon to interfere with our right to come to Beijing to air our grievances and to suppress the petitioners. And this is copied by the provincial and other municipal authorities.

Countless petitioners have been arrested without any justifiable cause. On 4 April alone, the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau rounded up more than 10,000 petitioners and sent them to the May 7th Cadre School outside Beijing.

The detention and repatriation of the petitioners constitute a form of political harassment and mental strangulation. Many of the detained and repatriated petitioners have become distraught, while others are pronounced counter-revolutionaries, imprisoned or executed. Their families are ruined and broken up.

Dear Premier, our "Blue Sky Deng," do you really mean to forsake us to save your own "career"?

Item Seven: How corrupt and incompetent!

The great government of the People's Republic of China and all the provincial, regional, municipal and county governments are unable to resolve either big or small problems.

Taking advantage of his position of power, Yang Xuelou had substituted himself for Xu Zhiqing as a resident of Mabianxian, Sichuan. In spite of 21 years of continuous petitioning, Xu Zhiqing has not been able to get this mistake corrected. Would it be necessary for the victim to petition the United Nations to look into this matter?

Wang Dayuan of Datong Commune, Tianqingxian, Anhui Province, and his whole family had lost their residence registration as his father had been convicted on false charges. They have been petitioning for more than 10 years, but were still unable to regain their residence registration. He

and his sister were teenagers when their father was killed. Now his sister is 29 years old and cannot find anyone to marry her because she does not have residence registration. Comrade Wang Dayuan wrote big-character posters on the Democracy Wall, asking the party and the government to guarantee his sister and himself the right to be alive. Isn't this a shame?

Falsely accused of speculation and profiteering, Comrade Li Erli, a member of the CCP and the 5th production team of the Nanedian production brigade, the Nanedian commune, Nanzhaolian, Henan, was expelled from the party. His property was confiscated and he himself has become paralyzed due to repeated struggles. His father, mother and wife were hounded to death in 4 days. Li made several attempts to commit suicide. The case has dragged on for so long, over 10 years, that his whole family is ruined and his children had to quit school. It is ascertained now that the charges were false. He got back his property, but nobody is adjudged responsible for the fiasco. What kind of logic is this? Is there such law which leaves murderers unpunished? Oh, the law of the state, what a mockery it is, how unjust! Oh, the government, how corrupt it is! Mr Chairman and Mr Premier, how incompetent you are!

Item Eight: Inhuman Logic

"Since antiquity, "people have instituted law suits to right wrongs and redress injustice." Now, especially after the overthrow of the "gang of four," large numbers of petitioners are arrested and repatriated, resulting in many instances of more injustice. Those who died of injustice portray a true picture of today's tragedies. After they died, nobody knows who they are, and their families even do not know they are dead and cannot air their grievances. What a tragedy!

To escape criminal responsibility their murderers, however, claim the victims had committed suicide. But let me ask you why did they commit suicide?

To petition for redress of injustice is called visiting the superiors because it takes place in a socialist country.

No matter what it is called, visiting the superiors or petitioning for redress, 90 percent of the accused are powerful people in their localities, and some are even the immediate superiors of the petitioners. Since they are powerful, and local officials always collude to protect each other, the petitioners find it necessary to appeal to higher authorities as they cannot reason with the local authorities.

The best way to handle the complaints of the masses is to investigate and resolve their problems through organizational channels. How can such cases be remanded to the accused, and direct them to work out solutions? Isn't it ridiculous to expect the accused to punish themselves?

When the remanded cases remained unresolved, the petitioners returned to Beijing for relief. But if they returned too many times, the government would accuse them of trouble making. Unwilling to admit its own incompetence, the government arrested the petitioners on trumped-up charges and sent them back.

The accused local officials hate the petitioners so much that they itch to get even with their accusers whenever they can. Now that they have been sent back by the central government with specific charges, the accused officials have the backing to get at their accusers.

Good god! What kind of logic is this? It simply works against airing grievances and redressing wrongs.

In 1947 Mrs Dong, nee Gao, of the Xinhua production brigade, Guanhu commune, Pixian, Jiangsu, and her whole family risked their lives to protect Liu Guiyue, the dependent of a revolutionary martyr. Later when Guo Chuanxi, the headman of a ward, found this out, he took away Liu Guiyue and killed her. No matter what had happened, Mrs Dong's whole family had rendered a meritorious service, while Guo Chuanxi should have faced a firing squad.

Unfortunately, Mrs Dong's whole family were convicted after the liberation, and the Xinhua production brigade gave the Dong's land to Guo Chuanxi. Mrs Dong had fought unsuccessfully for 8 years to get the injustice redressed. It is now established that the false charges against the Dong family were perpetrated by Xu Junshan, who coveted Mrs Dong's land. But the government did not bring charges against Guo Chuanxi, who went away unpunished.

Every time when Mrs Dong instituted action to regain her property, Xu Junshan would come to her and say arrogantly: "No matter where you appeal to, it doesn't concern me the least. The government will take care of everything for me!" The government, which class does it really represent?

Item Nine: Democracy under the bayonets; stability and unity under duress.

You people have been saying: "Our country must develop democracy," and the constitution expressly provides: "Every citizen shall enjoy the freedom of speech, assembly, demonstration..." In reality, there is hardly any democracy to speak of. The masses are getting impatient with the redress of injustice, not to say their feelings about some vital reforms the country needs. Since our views can never reach you, we have no other alternative but to write big-character posters, hold demonstrations and to petition even though we are suppressed each time we act.

Our demonstrations on 8, 14 and 27 January and 8 August were rather massive in scale, and so was the deployment of armed police, special agents and the Liberation Army sentries at the scene. No pedestrian was allowed to stop or loiter at Donghuamen. The Democracy Wall at Xidan, a political trap, was placed under strict surveillance by the special agents. In a word, Beijing was under white terror.

The Democracy Walls in the provinces, cities and counties are more fictional than real; they are full of notices and announcements aimed at suppressing democracy.

Item Ten: To win the trust of the people.

Since Chairman Hua is a wise ruler and Vice Chairman Deng is widely known as upright as the "blue sky," they must hold their ground, keep their promises and really promote democracy rather than acting like "General Ye who loves dragons." Instead of relying on their subordinates, they themselves must personally investigate the various departments and committees at the central government level on the one hand and the provinces and cities on the other. To enable the comrades at the lower levels and the masses to resolve the problems assigned them, the CCP Central Committee should issue specific written instructions on such nationally important issues of 1960 and 1962 as the transfer of cadres with jobs to the countryside to do manual labor, participation in the armed forces while holding other jobs, work by contract, changes from part-time to full-time jobs, and movement of people between rural and urban areas. "Don't be so muddleheaded" as to make the job more difficult than necessary for those comrades who are responsible for dealing with the masses. We agree that the masses have no reason to be hostile to the interviewers at various levels. But the root of the problem lies with the CCP Central Committee rather than the lower level agencies. In fact, the responsibility falls entirely on both of you.

As for myself, I could not care less how much you hate me, and the most you can do to me is to kill me. But I will not let myself become a wandering soul with no control over my own destiny, whether dead or alive.

In our history we know even the feudal rulers long ago understood the importance of listening to good advice. Duke Wei of the State of Qi, who wanted to solicit good advice from the people, ordered his subordinates: "Give a top reward to any courtier or commoner who offers his advice in my presence. Those who submit their advice in writing shall receive intermediate awards. One who speaks ill of me in public and makes me aware of it indirectly shall receive the lowest award."

During the "prosperous reign of Zhenguan" at the beginning of the Tang Dynasty, Emperor Taizong felt "concerned when people do not speak out" and made known his intention "to solicit admonitions." He regarded very highly Wei Zhen who confronted him most frequently with plausible arguments. He once pointed out: "I don't feel offended by those whose advice does not please me. If I became angry with them, I am afraid most people would be afraid to speak out." These feudal statesmen were "delighted to hear about their mistakes" and "followed advice without hesitation." We communists, espoused to the spirit of materialism, should work even harder to solicit and correctly handle the criticisms voiced by the masses.

ATTACK ON PETITIONERS AT XINHUAmen DESCRIBED

Beijing TANSUO [EXPLORATION] in Chinese No 5, 1 Oct 79 pp 33-35

[Newsletter by Hua Yi [5478 5939]: "Report on a Petition at XinhuaMen"]

[Text] The "anti-persecution, anti-hunger and anti-bureaucracy" petition organized by the masses of petitioners began at 8:00 am on 28 August at XinhuaMen, the south entrance to the Zhongnanhai.

Beginning at 10⁰⁰ am both sides of XinhuaMen and both the north and south sides of that long street were being filled with people who arrived in groups one after another.

Of the 15 mass meetings which took place after the downfall of the "gang of four," this was the most impressive, and attracted more people than all preceding gatherings.

The meeting drew the attention of the people of Beijing, the people of the whole country and people of the entire world. They too converged at XinhuaMen group after group.

Huge posters on the Democracy Wall at Xidan read: Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping must personally meet with the petitioning masses. We firmly support the petitioners' anti-persecution, anti-hunger, anti-bureaucracy struggle. We protest the arrest, detention and repatriation of petitioners. The No 43 Document of the CCP Central Committee and the Six-Article Circular of the Beijing municipal authority are illegal and should be abrogated immediately. Kick Wong Dongxin out of the CCP Central Committee. Fu Yuehua, Ran Wanding and Wei Jingsheng are innocent and should be released immediately.

This obviously scared the Beijing Public Security Bureau out of its wits. They were so panic-stricken that they acted as if they were to battle an invading enemy army. The huge police force deployed at the scene formed a human wall to surround the assembled masses. The petitioners staying at the relief station were not allowed to go out, and were cut off from outside support. Pedestrians were not allowed to stop at XinhuaMen. So the assembled masses were completely isolated as the XinhuaMen area fell under a reign of white terror.

The night of the 29th was cold, and the assembled masses had not had any water or food for 2 days. Braving hunger, thirst and cold weather, they shouted themselves hoarse: "We want to see Chairman Hua; we want to see Blue Sky Deng. The size of the assembly swelled just as fast as the strength of the police force.

What concerned the masses the most at the time was neither hunger, nor thirst, nor cold weather, nor even arrest by the police. They shared only one objective: "We must see Chairman Hua and Vice Premier Deng. We'll not leave until we see them." They tried to assure one another that Chairman Hua and Vice Premier Deng would see them if they did not yield their ground.

"Good luck" finally came at 1:43 am on 30 August.

The sound of an automobile engine and pounding footsteps suddenly approached and woke up the massive crowd of people who had fallen asleep due to exhaustion and thirst. Their sweet dream in which they met with Chairman Hua and Vice Premier Deng was dashed to pieces when they opened their eyes and saw practically the entire police force of the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau, including the guards of the "Gongdelin" detention center, as well as Captain Chang and Captain Wei of the Third Precinct. With loudspeakers in their hands, the police in formations like the advancing Japanese invaders, forged ahead in warlike postures toward the masses.

Realizing that they were surrounded by the police, the crowd became panicky. Children cried and grown-ups screamed. Some were talking about the possibility of mass arrest, while others disagreed and suspected that Chairman Hua and Vice Premier Deng might be on their way to meet the masses. Each had a different theory.

Suddenly the PLA soldiers and the police cleared a path for an automobile approaching from the east. The passenger who stepped out of the car was a chubby short man, walking ahead of two PLA soldiers and three policemen on each side. He waved and nodded to the crowd, bidding everybody to sit down. He looked and acted very much like Vice Premier Deng. A few audacious ones asked the police in whispers: "Is that Vice Premier Deng?" When the policeman said: "No," it stirred the crowd to frantic shouting: "The vice premier is here, the Blue Sky is here!" Everybody clapped.

"Vice Premier Deng" waved to the crowd again. Looking around at the hungry masses clad in rags, he began to speak: "As a representative of the CCP Central Committee and the State Council...." His voice was drowned by thunderous clapping, and people went down to their knees to show respect to "Vice Premier Deng."

After the clapping had subsided, "Vice Premier Deng" continued: "On behalf of the Joint Reception Office, No 1...." Everybody was stunned upon discovering the deception. They were so enraged that they stood up and blamed themselves for having fallen on their knees for that son of a bitch.

But this phony was so thick-skinned that he did not seem to mind a bit. He continued: "We know you have been wronged, and we sympathize with you for the hardships you have endured all these years. However, all your problems had to go back to the local authorities for solution. We hope you will abide by Document No 43 of the CCP Central Committee and the Six-Article Circular of the Beijing municipality. Do not make trouble here to pressure the Central Committee. You must go back immediately. Now, we'll take you all to"

The enraged masses just could not put up with this phony any longer, much less listen to his nonsense. Before he could finish what he had to say, thunderous slogans erupted spontaneously: "Stop defrauding us! We want to see Chairman Hua, Blue Sky Deng! Document No 43 of the Central Committee and the Six-Article Circular of the Beijing municipality are against the will of the people, unlawful! Revoke them immediately. We are not going back. Throw out that phony beast ..." Popular anger and resistance drove this frightened phony beast mad. Intense anger turned his face from pale to ashen, his hands trembling. Suddenly he screamed at the top of his voice: "Arrest, arrest them for me, arrest all of them!"

Suppression, a fierce fascist suppression, flared up as the police wrangled with the people and the masses battled the police. The Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau ordered three to four policemen to manhandle every petitioner, carrying them by the arms and feet and throwing them into the police van like sacks of pork.

It so happened that a crippled ex-Red Army man was also brought by a van to "Bendinghu." When he was told to get out of the van, he cried and asked for his walking cane. The police said to him in anger: "There's no cane. How did you get here?!" Forcing a smile, he said: "Four of you carried me into the van!"

A woman who was carried by four policemen into a van discovered her child had been taken to a different van. She cried and screamed at the policemen: "You bandits, where did you take my child? You must return to me my child, or else I'll hold you responsible ..." But the impersonal vans went each in a different direction. The screaming of the mother and her child, though still audible at a distance, ... The cries of desperation of the mother who had lost her child and the screaming of the child looking for his mother struck the bystanders with horror.

The comedy ended with the suppression. The pity is that the people did not even get to see the shadow of Vice Premier Deng. What they saw were the ruthless police, and what remained are indignation, a lost cane, and blood stains on torn-off clothing....

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DEMOCRACY WALL CALLED MOCKERY OF FREEDOM

Beijing TANSUO [EXPLORATION] in Chinese No 5, 1 Oct 79 pp 3-6

[Article by Ming Di [7686 6970]: "Democracy in a Shopping Window"]

[Text] That section of a low gray wall at Xidan, Beijing, where most big-character posters converge, has become to the ordinary people the "Democracy Wall," meaning that people can express their opinions freely on this wall. Foreign visitors call it "democracy in a shopping window," indicating that in a city of 8,000,000 people the wall is the only media which reflects the thought and wishes of the people, while all other newspapers and news agencies are geared to specific propaganda. This section of a low wall, the symbol of democracy, is no more than 200 meters long. Consequently, the democracy one finds here is only a display of samples, and the wall serves as a shopping window.

Because the wall is a shopping window, we must take a look at the "samples on display." Thank god! The wall is now under the "protection" of the Revolutionary Committee of the Municipality of Beijing. In its circular of 29 March, the Revolutionary Committee decreed that to keep the city clean and tidy, all big-character posters and advertisements would be confined to this wall. The municipal authority ought to be commended for its willingness to make this wall available to "democracy." We can see why it is so concerned about the appearance of the city which everyone knows has been unsightly. The municipal authority must have realized that if the colorful big-character posters were permitted on the outside of all low and rundown houses, it would be too sharp a contrast to the elegant white palatial city government building, and tarnish the image of our national prestige should the official visitors housed in the big hotels find them unpleasant. Since it is impossible to tear down all the low rundown residential houses, they can at least muffle the cries of discontent from these houses. Thus, the big-character posters are "centralized" at this wall of Xidan to save our national prestige and to exhibit "freedom of the press," and "freedom of belief" in China for the sake of "visiting dignitaries."

Due to the reasons given above, the wall is burdened with heavy responsibilities, serving as a newspaper, a court of law, an art gallery and a prison. As a newspaper, it is the only place in China where one may sample free speech and free press. As a court of law, it serves as a forum for countless victims of injustice to air their grievances and petition for redress. It is an art gallery which exhibits the works of tens of thousands of unrecognized young artists. As a prison gate, it provides a direct access to imprisonment for those young people who dedicate themselves to working out a better future for China.

It is an arena of duels between autocracy and democracy and a forum to thrash out truth and falsehood. This is where the masters of society strip off the masks of their servants and where impostaers and swindlers of all descriptions show their true colors. Here one finds the spirits of the decapitated chasing after their executioners, and the humiliated and persecuted lashing at crimes and evils. Here one finds both light and darkness, honest souls and bogeys. We may say this is where the future of China begins.

Even though this shopping window is small, it does show the double meanings of "democracy" in China. If you are anxious to understand the true nature of this "democracy," you had better come over and see for yourself what is going on in front of this shopping window.

1. "Democracy" at the Democracy Wall

The Democracy Wall is a gift from the city government. Since it is a gift, one would think that democracy which does not enjoy protection anywhere else is expected to be protected here. But that is not so. On 4 April when a 35-year-old citizen by the name of Ren Wanding tried to post on this wall a letter addressed to the Committee of Law of the National People's Congress, he was seized, before he finished posting the letter, by a number of burly chaps disguised as bystanders and taken to the Public Security Bureau. They even forced to the wall some foreign reporters who were taking pictures, and accused them of "interfering with the internal affairs of China." The young man who trusts the "democracy" had to leave behind his infant child to enjoy "democracy" in prison.

2. "Freedom of Speech"

The constitution of China always contains a "free speech" clause which was deleted only in the days of the "gang of four." Now, we must admit the deletion was done rather honestly. Since the beginning of "the democratic era," many people believed the clause would be changed, and the prediction has been borne out in fact. A young man by the name of Wei Jingheng who tried to exercise the right provided in this clause has to enjoy his "freedom" of speech in jail.

3. Be Careful What You Say

Since the overthrow of the "gang of four," people do not have to worry too much about eavesdropping when they talk at home. Lately it is no longer considered risky to grumble with people in your own unit because people at all levels have been grumbling too. However, there is one place in Beijing where one must be careful, especially careful, about what one says. This place is the Democracy Wall. There are so many policemen in the area that two out of every three who listen to what you say are policemen. Whenever there is a "democratic forum," the policemen are the most active participants. They always arrive early and stroll around disguised as pedestrians. If you are careless in talking, your voice will be recorded and your picture will enter the file of the Public Security Bureau.

4. Don't Socialize With Foreigners

I have a friend who majors in foreign languages. He read in the newspaper that now the Chinese people may socialize with foreigners and may even entertain them in their homes. A certain high-ranking official of the Ministry of Public Security told the first secretary of the American Embassy that there is no problem with foreigners entertaining Chinese in their homes. Believing this to be true, my friend began socializing rather frequently with "outsiders" to brush up on his foreign language, and even went out with them for sight-seeing. Not long thereafter, the public security people contacted his father (a bureau chief), warned him and showed him a detailed report of his son's association with foreigners. Reprimanded by his father, my friend feels utterly depressed.

5. "Appeal to Throne"

In Chinese opera there are scenes of people appealing directly to throne for redress of grievances. Yang Manchang is a peasant from Hebei Province who wants to air his grievances. He remembered the practice of sounding a gong or drum to signal the arrival of petitioners in the old feudal society. At the sound of the gong, the county magistrate, no matter when, must sit in his court to hear out the complaints. So he came to Beijing to sound the gong, but he could not locate any gong in Beijing. Then he recalled the practice of appealing to the throne. Having learned the routes most traveled by the government dignitaries, he finally managed to stop the car of Vice Premier Li and submitted his petition. He felt he would hear from the authorities soon. Two days later, however, he was "invited" to the Municipal Public Security Bureau where he was beaten and sent back to his "defendant's" place, locked in a local jail to agonize in utter helplessness.

6. "Democracy Under the Eyes of the Police"

An acquaintance of mine who works in the Public Security Bureau said that all the activists operating at the Democracy Wall are placed under surveillance, closely watched and listed as special cases for investigation.

Nobody can manage "to slip through the net." Last March or April when an internal document revealed the biographical sketches of all those related to the Democracy Wall and shoddy descriptions of their activities, rumors suddenly began to go on the rampage. Like the Tiananmen incident, these rumors were handed down systematically. If you notice suspicious characters passing by, you can be sure you are being watched. When you see cars with license plates bearing numbers reading 31-00xx, you should realize you are assigned bodyguards. There is usually a bicycle in the trunk of each car to provide service where automobiles cannot reach. These imported luxury vehicles are assigned to these special duties.

7. Conclusion

Following the resolution of the Third Plenum of CCP Central Committee "to promote" democracy, Premier Hua Guofeng said: "Proceed a bit faster; liberate the mind a bit more." But Premier Hua Guofeng did not say how much is "a bit." After the emergence of the Democracy Wall, some people who do not know what "a bit" means, proceeded so fast that they ended in jail. What does it mean to liberate the mind a bit more? Those who liberated their minds too much also ended in jail. If the authorities are really interested in democracy, why do they single out the Democracy Wall for surveillance and suppression? Our country has a long history of using the organs of the dictatorship against the people. Instead of sneering at the Soviet "KGB," we should take a look at our own "KGB." If they really want democracy, the first thing is to do away with police dictatorship. Until there is a guarantee of the rights of citizens who have been enjoying protection for a long time even in the capitalist societies, the so-called legal system and socialist democracy are just empty talk. Until the first modernization, democratization, is realized, the Four Modernizations which we advocate are no more than illusions. Until the lives of the people are fully protected and the purpose of production is proven to work for the benefit of the people, nobody will play the role of a dummy any more.

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YOUNG MAN'S FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY RECOUNTED

Beijing TANSUO [EXPLORATION] in Chinese No 5, 1 Oct 79 p 6

[Article by Chong Ming [1504 2494]: "Wei Jingsheng's Episodes"]

[Text] When I read Wei Jingsheng's article on "The Fifth Modernization" on the Democracy Wall, I found it refreshing and gratifying, but it scared me a little. Later when I got to talk with him about my feelings and cautioned him to be careful, he said: "If a political regime could not even tolerate the opinions of a young man, would it be able to serve the people? If a man cannot express his opinion, would his existence be any different than that of a pig or a dog?"

Not long after I had contacted Wei Jingsheng, TANSUO was about to be published. But I decided to back out because I felt I had not studied systematically either Marxism or non-Marxist theories, and found it difficult to question Marxism after so many years of orthodox Marxist education. So I had no reason to work for TANSUO. When I explained to him my position nervously, Jingsheng was neither annoyed nor angry. In fact we have been on good terms ever since. He said to me that it is normal and healthy for us to follow different roads to explore and fight for democracy for the resurgent Chinese nation. He urged all of us to fight the same campaign from different directions!

As the situation became very tense after the publication of TANSUO No 3, I went to see Wei Jingsheng and expressed to him the concern of numerous readers. When I advised him to slip away, he said: "Let them slip away for a while but I don't intend to do that. One of us has to weather the storm." "Are you going to wait for them to arrest you?" I asked. "If they want to arrest me," he said, "let them do it. This is not the first time."

One day when I was visiting with him in his home, his father suddenly dashed in. After letting loose a torrent of abuses at Jingsheng and calling

him a counter-revolutionary, he turned to us and said: "I am not angry with you people." We were surprised how peacefully Wei Jingsheng took his father's abuse. He was not angry, nor did he talk back. He acted as if nothing had happened. After his father had left the house, he said: "He made such a scene because he is the father and a decadent official."

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IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES OF 'TANSUO' WRITERS REVEALED

Beijing TANSUO [EXPLORATION] in Chinese No 5, 1 Oct 79 p 7-8

[Article by Chi Tian [7871 1131]: "Controversies About TANSUO"]

[Text] In March this year, all the principals of our editorial department were arrested in a drive to suppress democracy. As a result, our publication had to stop. At the same time those clowns in hiding are out to push forth their operations. In view of these developments, Comrade Chi Tian wrote on 7 April an article called "Controversies About TANSUO" to refute the charges against us by those clowns as well as to express his own views about our ideological differences. After TANSUO resumed publication, Comrade Chi Tian sent us another article called "A Comparison of Two Different Social Systems," in which he systematically expounded his own views. We welcome such frank theoretical discussions. Now we publish both articles in this issue, and will discuss our views in the following issue. Editor's note.

Lately, a number of articles written about TANSUO have led to controversies touching upon a few basic questions. I think I would like to discuss with you all the way I assess them.

First, the question of social systems. Obviously TANSUO prefers capitalism to socialism, and it makes no bones about its position. Today capitalism has become quite attractive to the young people even though they differ in their approaches. A small minority are covetous of the vulgar permissive capitalist life style. The majority of them, including those associated with TANSUO, simple and plain as they are, favor capitalism for emotional reasons because they are impressed by certain features of capitalism. Another small minority, again including those associated with TANSUO, want to understand and assess capitalism theoretically, though they are somewhat biased. Their understanding of socialism is wrong and they do not really know the actual conditions in the socialist countries (by the way,

Romania and Czechoslovakia are the last two in rank among East European countries). But the spirit of TANSUO is no doubt far superior to that of the rest. It stands for courage, straightforwardness and sincerity, the kind of spirit rarely noted among the vulgar. The TANSUO group is even better than those "socialists" represented by "a worker of the Beijing Automobile Manufacturing Plant" because the latter are not interested in seeking truth and know very little about actual social conditions. What they support is not socialism at all. It is a pity that articles carried by SIWU LUNTAN also show a similar slant on the situation. Having made my position clear, I should like to say with a clear conscience that I am in favor of socialism and opposed to capitalism. I hope I can find an opportunity to go into this a bit more and debate the matter with TANSUO. I sincerely hope they are on the side of socialism instead of feudalist socialism.

Second, the question of practicing democracy. The degree to which a country practices democracy, including superficial democracy such as free speech and free press, reflects the degree of social stability in that country. As far as I can see, China is stable enough to have more superficial democracy. But why are there so many restrictions? The reasons for this are too complicated and profound to be dealt with at this point. Objectively speaking, TANSUO did violate the constitution of China. Now if I were to ask to amend the constitution it would not be such a terrible blunder, because public opinion that is based on reason and that does not incite violence should be tolerated. Sweeping bans of opposition is unacceptable. Ban of opposition should be commensurate to its magnitude and method. Restrictions of one kind or another are bound to exist at any given time, but no government should wilfully restrict democracy. I am also in favor of a system of law, a progressive system of law which protects the people's democratic rights, including freedom of speech, and those who are amenable to reason. I am opposed to a system of law which is different than this. A government which stands for reason has nothing to fear. The fact that socialism is superior to capitalism has been proven the world over. If it is not yet proven in China, that means they won't seek truth from fact, and the leaders of China do not intend to defend genuine socialism and would not let anyone else defend it either.

Finally, I do not think it was TANSUO that insulted anybody because it stands on "good grounds." Even if its "good grounds" are not absolutely correct, they are still "good grounds." After all, "correctness" is a relative matter and there has never been a consensus as to what it is. To accuse anyone of infamy without justification is indeed an "insult." Please excuse me because I have to insult those people "like the worker of the Beijing Automobile Manufacturing Plant" who said: "I don't approve of the government's leniency toward you people." They really deserve to be called lackeys, not so much for the timing of the statement as for their words, deeds and ideology. In fact, it is not easy to be a lackey. Please take care!

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YOUNG WORKER FINDS 'TANSUO' EDUCATIONAL, INSPIRING

Beijing TANSUO [EXPLORATION] in Chinese No 5, 1 Oct 79 pp 23-24

[Article by Jian Fa [1696 3127], a worker in Beijing: "Seeing Is Believing"]

[Text] The 16th of September 1979 was a very ordinary day, also an ordinary Sunday. But I witnessed an extraordinary event on this ordinary day.

It was a brisk bright autumn day. Driven by curiosity, I, a young worker enjoying a Sunday break, strolled with my companions to the Democracy Wall at Xidan about 2:00 pm in the afternoon.

After reading very humbly all the posters on the wall, my sympathy went out to those who had suffered hardships, even though I did not think the facts and accusations in the posters were all true. As my original ideas had been shattered by all the problems besetting both society in general and my own work unit in particular, I found myself standing wittingly or unwittingly at a crossroad.

Feeling increasingly confused by the contradictions in my mind, something bright suddenly flashed in front of my eyes, an announcement that TANSUO would be offered for sale at 5:30 pm right where we were. The announcement was indeed a stabilizer to my troubled emotions.

When I learned last April about the arrest of the founder of TANSUO, I did not feel too much concerned. After reading more and more about the true facts of the case, my sympathy turned to him. I prayed secretly for them and asked God to help them establish their innocence. That was why I wanted to find out how seriously TANSUO had offended the government and get a copy of TANSUO. Today my wishes would be fulfilled. Excited and happy, I checked my watch at 3:00 pm. How I wished TANSUO were there sooner.

Then I began to feel somewhat tense when it was approaching 5:00 pm. I looked around and saw more people coming. Most of them were young people, plus a sprinkle of foreigners and older Chinese. Some of them tried to find out from people standing nearby whether TANSUO had arrived. Apparently they were after TANSUO too. As I looked at them dispassionately, I said to myself: "What are they after?"

Everyone began to queue up at 5:20 pm. I was surprised by the orderliness of such a huge crowd. Maybe I was wrong.

At 5:30 pm two comrades representing TANSUO appeared on the surrounding wall of the bus terminal (route 338) and began to sell the magazine. Unfortunately, people left the line to get ahead. With money in hand, I also tried to get closer. But the tall guys had all the advantages to reach for the publication. I began to feel quite impatient because I knew they print only 50 copies of each issue. If I missed this opportunity, I would have wasted over 2 hours for nothing. Suddenly I realized I must get inside the terminal to buy it, and it actually worked. I was lucky that I was able to buy a copy of TANSUO. Walking away slowly with the magazine, I turned around and saw people still racing to get it. It made me feel so fortunate. As expected, all the copies were gone in a few minutes.

I had never bought the magazine before. This was the first time, and the occasion was indeed educational and inspiring.

I am sure these people are not all counter-revolutionaries. Many of them are young people born and brought up in the new society. Some of them might very well be a bit more far-sighted than the rest. No wonder they got themselves into trouble.

Now we know one who plays politics should understand politics. Once he understands politics and has his own political convictions, he is likely to be fearless.

I must say I have entirely different views regarding Wei Jingsheng's "counter-revolutionary offenses." I believe the people are great and fair.

9360
CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

'TANSUO' EDITORIAL STATEMENT--On the eve of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China we should like to reiterate our ardent request that the appropriate authorities concerned do conscientiously enforce "The Criminal Code of the People's Republic of China" and "The Law of Criminal Procedure" and release unconditionally all those citizens of the People's Republic of China who have been arrested in connection with freedom of thought, press and belief. We hope there will be no more unjust, trumped-up and erroneous prosecutions and no more bloodshed. Moreover, we hope the people's prisons will no longer be used to imprison the people, and the government will endeavor to overhaul and rectify the judicial administration, weed out the fascist elements hidden in the system of judicial administration and turn over for trial those executioners who have incurred debts of blood to the court of law. This is the only way to promote justice in law enforcement. [Text] [Beijing TANSUO [EXPLORATION] in Chinese No 5, 1 Oct 79 p 3] 9360

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